

# Conceptualizing Culture in Discourses of Policy and Reform in Amsterdam

Gail Meryl Zuckerwise

UCL

PhD

I, Gail Meryl Zuckerwise confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis

## **Abstract:**

This project addresses the relationship between the concept of culture in cultural policies and the culture that is attributed to the identity of Amsterdam. Culture is becoming increasingly central to discourses of policy and reform in particular ways, which are exemplified by the case of Amsterdam that is studied. I use Critical Discourse Analysis to examine four case studies. This method enables me to divide my case studies into three categories of discourses of reform: Administrative/policy discourses, Discourses of intervention and Academic discourses. I analyze each discourse separately in order to present a holistic conceptualization of culture in the context of reform. I illustrate how culture is a concept that becomes relevant and significant in discourses of reform in different ways. Thus, alongside my aim of analyzing culture as a diversely significant concept, this project also intends to present CDA as a productive method for theorizing and analyzing contemporary culture.

Amsterdam presents a city where urban policies and reforms can be described as *cultural* policies and reforms. It is a case where we can study 1) this kind of policy and reform that are described as cultural; 2) the shift in the context of policies and reforms, in relation to a changing concept of culture. For this study of culture and cultural policy, I suggest that Foucault's concept of governmentality is productive. This concept is derived from the terms "government" and "mentality", offering a tool for analyzing the convergence of technologies of government work and a new political rationality. In this case, it is a concept that is productive for analyzing how discourses of reform relate to a particular rationality that is linked to the concept of culture in the city. This is achieved through case studies that analyze the governmentality of reform in relation to identities, industries, places and practices that are associated with culture in Amsterdam.

|  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| <b><u>1. INTRODUCING CULTURE IN THIS PROJECT .....</u></b>   | <b><u>9</u></b>   |
| 1.1 INTRODUCING CULTURE: DEFINITIONS .....   | 9                 |
| 1.2 INTRODUCING KEY SCHOLARSHIP: THE FOUNDATIONS OF MY APPROACH FOR RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS .....                            | 10                |
| 1.3 INTRODUCING CULTURE: THE GOVERNMENTALITY OF CULTURAL POLICIES AND REFORMS....  | 17                |
| <b><u>2. METHODOLOGY: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS .....</u></b>  | <b><u>19</u></b>  |
| 2.1 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: INTRODUCTION .....  | 19                |
| 2.2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: DEFINING THE TERMS.....   | 22                |
| 2.3 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: SELECTING CASE STUDIES .....  | 25                |
| <b><u>3. A POLICY/ADMINISTRATIVE DISCOURSE OF REFORM: CULTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF CITY MARKETING AND BRANDING.....</u></b>   | <b><u>31</u></b>  |
| 3.1 I AMSTERDAM: AN INTRODUCTION TO CITY MARKETING AND BRANDING IN AMSTERDAM ....  | 33                |
| 3.2 I AMSTERDAM: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STRATEGY FOR MARKETING AND BRANDING AMSTERDAM .....                                  | 35                |
| 3.3 I AMSTERDAM: THE MAKING OF...THE CITY MARKETING OF AMSTERDAM .....   | 48                |
| 3.4 I AMSTERDAM: CONCLUDING REMARKS.....   | 68                |
| <b><u>4. A POLICY/ADMINISTRATIVE DISCOURSE OF REFORM: CULTURE IN CONTEXTS OF SOCIO-SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS.....</u></b>      | <b><u>73</u></b>  |
| 4.1 PROJECT 1012: QUALITY FOR THE HEART OF AMSTERDAM .....   | 74                |
| 4.2 PROJECT 1012: FUTURE PERSPECTIVES .....  | 78                |
| 4.3 PROJECT 1012: UNDER CONSTRUCTION .....   | 97                |
| 4.4 PROJECT 1012: CONCLUDING REMARKS.....  | 110               |
| <b><u>5. DISCOURSES FROM INTERVENTION: RESISTING AND RESPONDING TO CONTENT AND CONTEXTS OF POLICY AND REFORM .....</u></b> | <b><u>117</u></b> |
| 5.1 DISCOURSES FROM INTERVENTIONS: RED A.I.R.....  | 118               |
| 5.2 RED A.I.R: THE PROGRAM .....   | 122               |
| 5.3 RED A.I.R: LAURENCE AËGERTER.....  | 126               |
| 5.4 RED A.I.R: ALEXIS BLAKE AND CONCLUDING PANEL DISCUSSION .....  | 131               |
| 5.5 DISCOURSES FROM INTERVENTIONS: CONCLUDING REMARKS .....  | 140               |

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| <b>6. AN ACADEMIC DISCOURSE ON REFORM: “RE-MAKING A LANDSCAPE OF PROSTITUTION” .....</b>                                  | <b>148</b>     |
| <b>6.1 RE-MAKING A LANDSCAPE OF PROSTITUTION: AN ACADEMIC DISCOURSE ON REFORM IN AMSTERDAM’S RED LIGHT DISTRICT .....</b> | <b>148</b>     |
| <b>6.2 RE-MAKING A LANDSCAPE OF PROSTITUTION: INTRODUCTION .....</b>  | <b>150</b>     |
| <b>6.3 RE-MAKING A LANDSCAPE OF PROSTITUTION: PLACING PROSTITUTION .....</b>  | <b>154</b>     |
| <b>6.4 RE-MAKING A LANDSCAPE OF PROSTITUTION: GOVERNMENTALITY IN AMSTERDAM’S RED LIGHT DISTRICT .....</b>                 | <b>159</b>     |
| <b>6.5 RE-MAKING A LANDSCAPE OF PROSTITUTION: FROM RED LIGHT TO BLACK LIGHT .....</b>                                     | <b>162</b>     |
| <b>6.6 RE-MAKING THE LANDSCAPE OF PROSTITUTION: A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS OF REDLIGHT ART AMSTERDAM .....</b>             | <b>166</b>     |
| <b>6.7 RE-MAKING THE LANDSCAPE OF PROSTITUTION: REDLIGHT ART .....</b>  | <b>169</b>     |
| 6.7.1 REDLIGHT ART: ACHIM LENDERER: HOLD ON, I, TOO, AM DRIFTING...(A SPEECH PERFORMANCE WITH KEVIN CREGAN) .....         | 169            |
| 6.7.2 REDLIGHT ART: ALEXIS BLAKE: IN/OUT/EITHER/NEITHER, REFLECTIONS OF A CHOICE. ....                                    | 171            |
| 6.7.3 REDLIGHT ART: LAURENCE AËGERTER: OPENING SOON/OPENING NOW .....   | 174            |
| <b>6.8 RE-MAKING THE LANDSCAPE OF PROSTITUTION: AFTERWORD.....</b>  | <b>175</b>     |
| <b>6.9 RE-MAKING THE LANDSCAPE OF PROSTITUTION: CONCLUDING REMARKS .....</b>  | <b>178</b>     |
| <br><b>7. CONCLUSIONS .....</b>   | <br><b>182</b> |
| <b>8. WORKS CITED .....</b>   | <b>194</b>     |
| <b>APPENDIX A: IMAGES REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER 3 .....</b>  | <b>199</b>     |
| <b>APPENDIX B: IMAGES REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER 4 .....</b>  | <b>201</b>     |
| <b>APPENDIX C: IMAGES REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER 5 .....</b>  | <b>211</b>     |
| <b>APPENDIX D: IMAGES REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER 6.....</b>   | <b>218</b>     |

## **PREFACE: THE GENESIS OF THIS PROJECT**

This project evolved from research that I conducted as an undergraduate student of anthropology at Amherst College. I spent four months in Amsterdam, where I first became interested in the different ways that people experienced and interacted in the Amsterdam Red Light District<sup>1</sup>. It seemed that almost everyone who engaged with this part of the city was either visiting or working in the Red Light District. While I observed canal houses along the narrow streets of the area, I was overwhelmed by the majority of people in this area who were obviously tourists, and it seemed like there were scarcely any locals populating this part of the city.

In the summer of 2005, I returned to Amsterdam for my undergraduate thesis research, which focused on sex workers' positive experiences in Amsterdam's Red Light District (Zuckerwise, 2005). I interviewed sex workers, and I questioned how the words "liberal" and "tolerant" related to the ideas and experiences of people living in the city and those working in and around the sex industry and those visiting Amsterdam's Red Light District. Through sex workers' positive experiences, I also learned of the stigmatization that has always been factored into discourses on prostitution in Amsterdam. From residents, who often acknowledged the historic and economic significance of the Red Light District, I learned that it was common practice to avoid passing through the central streets of this area (even if their detours made their journeys longer). In general, the residents took pride in the history they identified with this area, and they recognized part of the city's identity in the Red Light District; they also acknowledged that prostitution had always played a part in the life of the city and was not in itself problematic.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, many objected to the commoditization of the city's culture and the masses of tourists that experienced Amsterdam through certain perspectives and practices in these spaces.

I returned to the city in 2006 and enrolled in graduate school at the University of Amsterdam. Over the nearly five years I spent in the city, I was in the midst of reforms and developments that were taking place in the city center. This was especially obvious through the manifestation of the City's<sup>3</sup> "I amsterdam" branding campaign throughout the city. I also noticed the

---

<sup>1</sup> Amsterdam has several red light districts, but this paper focuses on the largest and most renowned district, also known by locals as De Wallen. Prostitution policies and legislation apply to red light districts throughout the city and the country, while these are overseen at the municipal level. Nevertheless, from a global perspective, this main red light district is the face of the Amsterdam Red light District, and often prostitution in the Netherlands.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that policy makers also framed prostitution as part of the social reality of the city that was not inherently problematic when they decided to lift the ban on brothels and legalize the sex industry, in 2000 (Outshoorn, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this thesis, I refer to the City as a subject or agent within my analyses. I do not intend to reify the city. When I use the City with a capital C, this should be understood as a reference to the City of Amsterdam, by which I mean the municipal council of the City of Amsterdam. In contrast, when I speak of the city with a lowercase c, I am speaking of the city as the geographical location.



reduction of brothels in the Red Light District that was part of a larger agenda for culture-based policies and reforms in the city center. As a researcher, I found this particularly interesting in relation to my prior research about the city's cultural image and identity.

For my research MA thesis in Cultural Analysis, I presented a genealogical analysis of the spaces of sex work in Amsterdam (Zuckerwise, 2010). Through this process, I became familiar with the context of my current project, and I gained a clear idea of the available resources that I could use for my research along with an awareness of the challenges or limitations that this context presented. Importantly, I also began collecting data that I intended to use for ongoing research, and I made contacts that I expected would provide important resources and information in later stages of my research.

This PhD thesis addresses the contemporary context of Amsterdam's city center, and my research specifically focuses on policies and reforms that are affecting the areas in the historical city center. This part of the city has a long history as an international hub of various kinds of exchanges, at least dating back to its thriving port for overseas trade in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. My approach towards research for this project developed from my conceptualization of culture as something that exists through multiple perspectives and different interactions between people and their environments. Through researching specific case studies in contemporary Amsterdam, my objective is to analyze the concept of culture in contexts where culture becomes part of reform and development strategies.

\* \* \*

### **Locating myself within the interdisciplinary fields of this project**

This project aims to make a contribution to the field of cultural studies in the first instance. At the same time, I expect that its findings will also be relevant to scholarship and perspectives that share my interest in the city as a sight for studying cultural policies and strategies for cultural reform. This project evolved as the result of changes that I noticed over the time that I spent in Amsterdam. However, it also is the product of the different perspectives that I took during my research in the city. When I first went to Amsterdam, as an Anthropology student, I was interested in studying the Red Light District as part of a liberal and tolerant culture of sexuality in the city. I questioned how liberalism and tolerance related to both sexuality and general ideas and attributes that were linked to the image and identity of the city. The first research that I conducted in Amsterdam and the Red Light District was guided by my anthropological training and perspective, so it primarily involved methods that are associated with ethnographic research, including observations and interviews. When I returned to Amsterdam in 2006, my academic perspective began to shift, as I enrolled in courses that offered a more critical perspective from which to engage in cultural analyses. Instead of positioning myself as an academic (anthropological) observer, looking at the context of my research from an outsider's position, I began to consider myself as both inside and outside of the cultural landscape that I was considering. I was not a tourist, but I was not an Amsterdammer, and while I was resident of the city, I was often aware of the fact that many natives of the city regarded me as a

visitor, if not a tourist. From this position- betwixt and between inside and outside- I had an interesting view from which to observe and analyze ideas and experiences of Amsterdam's culture, image and identity. When the I Amsterdam brand appeared, my situation as neither an insider nor outsider was reiterated, as I found myself unsure about how I connected with this brand or if I should embrace it.

The emergence of the city's brand sparked an interest in me that extended beyond my previous anthropological intrigue in what I had identified as unique (liberalism and tolerance) about the city's sex work industry. As I continued to research and reflect on the policies and reforms that were taking place in the city, my understanding of my own situation changed; I began to question how I was both inside and outside and how this related to my identification with Amsterdam in terms of my experiences of the local-global nexus.

Whereas I had previously researched the city's Red Light District as something that set it apart from other cities- at least from the global perspective-, I recognized that Amsterdam's decision to use city marketing and branding to promote itself around the world was not unique. On the other hand, Amsterdam continued to promote its Red Light District through its new approach towards city marketing. I began to wonder how this would impact how locals and tourists experienced and perceived the city and particularly its qualities and spaces that had been known for their distinctive appeal. My shifting interest towards the strategic city marketing and the I Amsterdam brand was reflected in my approach towards research in the city. By directing my focus towards city marketing, I was entering the realm of urban policies and reform and how they related to cultural attributes and experiences in the city and the City's plans to reform the image and identity of Amsterdam. Importantly, my ultimate goal was to understand how strategies and policies for city marketing related to and influenced the cultural image and identity of the city. Additionally, I questioned if the policies and reforms could be seen as cultural themselves. Therefore, it seemed that I taken up the task of understanding how a concept of culture could be studied in relation to urban policies- or how urban policies become cultural policies that impact cultural identities and experiences in the city.

My prior studies of the Red Light District had largely been informed by interviews with sex workers and residents and genealogical studies of the spaces of sex work in Amsterdam. In order to understand how local policies were transforming the socio-cultural life and space of the city and reflecting cultural aspects of the city, I realized that it would be necessary to approach my research differently. My overarching aim was to analyze how contemporary policies were impacting cultural attributes of the city and how people came to associate these with Amsterdam's image and identity. Thus, my project required the incorporation of urban policy and planning perspectives and more critical cultural analyses. Ultimately, this project seeks to contribute an analysis that can illuminate the increasing significance of culture as a concept in urban policy and planning. In order to achieve this, My aim is to show how culture is increasingly central to urban policies and reforms. In my

conclusions, I hope to present an approach for theorizing culture in contexts where policies are intervening the life and space of the city.

\* \* \*

Contemporary policies and reforms have become the focal points of my research, and culture itself is introduced as a concept as well as the object of my analyses.

**My hypothesis** is that Amsterdam offers an example of a specific kind of convergence of culture and politics within the contexts of urban reform. I conceptualize this convergence as: culture + politics = cultural policy and influential and resulting (cultural) identities, industries, places and practices; the contexts of urban reform refers to both 1) discourses of urban reform AND 2) Amsterdam and specific places where reforms are taking place.

**My analytical imperative** is to conceptualize this convergence of politics and culture in terms of what is “cultural” in the contexts of reform in central Amsterdam. In order to achieve this:

**My central research question asks:** 1) *What is the relationship between the “culture” of reform policies and strategies and the “culture” that is attributed to identities, industries, places and practices in the city?* 2) *How do individuals, industries, places and practices engage with cultural policies and reforms?*

**To unpack this question further, I ask:**

- 1) How do different individuals engage with cultural policies and reforms in their everyday lives/practices?
- 2) How do cultural industries enter into discourses/policies of reform?
- 3) How are places reformed through policies/interventions that explicitly/implicitly impact the everyday life and concept/content of culture in particular spaces?
- 4) How do socio-spatial, institutional and discursive practices impact and reflect the image and identity of the city in terms of what is associated with culture in Amsterdam?

**My methodology** is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which I apply to three kinds of discourses of reform that I describe as: 1) the administrative/policy discourse 2) the discourse from interventions 3) the academic discourse. It is important to note that there are various ways that CDA is used in the humanities and social sciences, and I elaborate on my particular approach in Chapter 2.

**My approach** is to study *culture as an empty circle* that I intend to fill through my analyses. I use the image of the circle because there is no starting point or end to culture, just like there is no place where a circle begins and ends. Through my research and analyses, my focus will be on specific ways that culture acquires meaning through discourses and processes that are intentionally and unintentionally influencing how culture is experienced and expressed in Amsterdam’s city center. For this project, it is critical that culture is understood as mobile, relational and situated within particular discourses, at particular times and places. If we consider these ideas in relation to the circle, we can understand them better. A circle (like a wheel) is mobile; if we fill in one piece of a cultural puzzle, and the circle turns, this piece might shift and look different, or be perceived differently from

another perspective or situation, reflecting the way that culture and cultural elements are mobile, relational and situated in times and places.

When I describe culture as relational, I mean that it is formed and informed through social relations and processes. Because it is situated in specific times and discourses, it is contingent on the physical, socio-spatial context that I am researching, as well as the materials that I am analyzing: culture is framed- contextualized- in terms of the experiences and perspectives of individuals and their interactions and social worlds, and through the way people speak about culture. This interactive aspect of culture is also accounted for in my understanding of culture as social and contextual, which is why my method takes into account how interactions and relations influence how culture is experienced, expressed and perceived. By analyzing culture as social, my intention is to illuminate a network of power relations that processes culture as both a concept in and effect of discourses of reform, through identifying how culture comes forth through policies as well as social and spatial processes and practices.

The concept of culture should be acknowledged as contingent upon the myriad social relations, perspectives, practices and identities that are considered in the project. From this point of view, this project begins with the analytical imperative of conceptualizing culture without *a priori* accepting that culture can be empirically or singularly understood. Thus, culture becomes the subject of inquiry, as an empty circle around which my analytical framework has formed.

In the following section, I briefly introduce scholarship that has reflected on the concept of culture and has contributed to my view that it is critical to account for the complexity of this term and its significance in discourses that span multiple academic disciplines and enter diverse social and policy agendas. Then, I present key scholarship that has informed my approach towards research and analysis in this process. I introduce important concepts that are beneficial for studying contemporary reforms in Amsterdam as well as remaining questions that come forth as a result of particular perspectives and approaches.

# 1. Introducing Culture in this Project

---

## 1.1 *Introducing Culture: Definitions*

---

This project begins from questions that revolve around the idea and significance of culture. I am not the first person to reflect on this term, or to point out that it has become increasingly difficult to define, as it gains relevance in various ways. Raymond Williams suggests, “Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language”. He continues to explain that this is mainly due to the fact that “it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought” (Williams, 1976, p. 87).

In anthropology, the discipline often primarily associated with studying culture/cultures, the debate on the definition can be traced back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with Edward Tylor (1871), who explained that different groups existed on a spectrum from savage to civilized, presenting an evolutionist view of cultures, which were seen as complex wholes. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, other definitions emerged with new emphases, for example on more symbolic aspects of culture or the role of social heritage and tradition. In 1952, Kroeber and Klukholn published a text, with the assistance of Untereiner and Meyer, in which they reviewed 164 different definitions of culture divided into six categories (descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural and genetic). While this text was published over 60 years ago and did not claim to be complete at the time, it exemplifies the various ways that scholars have approached and defined culture, which has continued and diversified. This merely goes to illustrate Williams’ point about the complexity of the term “culture”.

While it is impossible and unproductive to present a complete history or review of the word “culture”, it is important to introduce particular ways that it has evolved within the field of cultural studies. I am primarily interested in cultural studies because this is the field that has concerned itself with the study of contemporary culture, which is at the core of this project. Of course, like the concept that is central to cultural studies, the field is complex and has included many different and controversial views.

The field of cultural studies emerged in Great Britain in the 1950s and took form in the 1960s with the creation of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham. Richard Hoggart, who founded the center, was influential with the view that culture should be studied in relation to individuals’ lived experiences, which could not be considered in objectified terms. Raymond Williams continues to be regarded as one of the most profoundly influential theorists in the development of cultural studies, beginning with the publication of his book *Culture and Society*, in 1958. The book focused on textual representations and cultural ways of seeing

and began to develop an idea of culture as something that emerged through ways of life, meanings and patterns (Turner, 1996, p. 43). The work of Stuart Hall who assisted Hogart and then became director of the center in 1969 has continued to be largely associated with the center and the field of cultural studies. “For Hall, what is at stake is the connection that cultural studies seeks to make to matters of power and cultural politics. That is, to an exploration of representations of and ‘for’ marginalized social groups and the need for cultural change” (Barker, 2008, p. 5). Beginning in the 1970s, the concept of “hegemony” entered into cultural studies, with culture seen as a form of hegemony. This term, associated with Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, describes “relations of domination which are not visible as such” (During, 1993, p. 4). Alongside this perception of culture, cultural studies began to focus on critiques of the hegemonic effects of culture, which also emphasized links between politics and culture in the field. Another concept that is often critiqued in a similar way is ideology. Broadly defined, ideology is the set of discourses or views that construct the social reality through perceptions of common sense or norms that can even seem natural and true. Both hegemony and ideology are concepts that are used to study the relationship between culture and power, which is central to the field:

Cultural studies is concerned with the analysis of cultural forms and activities in the context of relations of power which condition their production, circulation, deployment and, of course effects (Bennett, 1998, p. 60).

The link between politics and culture has continued developing in the expanding area of “cultural policy studies”. During (1993) identifies two forms of this approach to cultural studies, “one economically orientated and pragmatic, the other more theoretical” (p. 16). Whereas economic cultural policy analysis approaches cultural production and distribution from the perspective of optimizing resources and returns, the theoretical branch of cultural policy theory is derived from Foucault’s later work on governmentality, arguing that culture is a “mechanism for transmitting forms of ‘governmentality’” (During, 1993, p. 16). This project begins in accordance with this theoretical branch of cultural policy studies, insofar as I agree that culture is increasingly used as a technology of policies, resulting in the upsurge of cultural policies and their social, economic and political significance. However, instead of beginning with an idea of culture that enables me to assess the impact or efficacy of reform policies in terms of preconceived cultural content/qualities, my aim is to analyze discourses of policies and reforms in order to theorize the governmentality of (cultural) reform.

---

## 1.2 *Introducing Key Scholarship: the foundations of my approach for research and analysis*

---

This project focuses on specific social and spatial situations within the city where cultural policies and strategies are intervening in social life and space. I hypothesized that these cultural policies intervened in the social life and space of the city through what could be analyzed as the

governmentality of reform. I began from the idea that the changes in the social and spatial situations would offer information about how culture is processed and experienced and how it possibly emerges as a result of (or in response to) interventions or changes in the city. I expected that it could be identified through different perspectives and experiences that offer information about what informs and influences cultural meanings or significance.

My research begins from observations that I made while I was living in Amsterdam and witnessing changes that related to aspects of the city's cultural image and identity that I had studied previously. I began to suspect that Amsterdam was following the trend of many cities where urban policies and reforms are centering on ideas and ideals of culture (Bianchini, 1993). Importantly, while culture is at the center of policies and strategies for urban reform and development, these technologies of governance also reflect another- often simultaneous- trend, which Harvey (1989) described in reference to the shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism. In Amsterdam, culture-led policies and strategies for reform appear to be economically motivated and/or organized, illustrating this trend. Examples of entrepreneurial governance include the city marketing and branding initiative and the reduction of the Red Light District in favor of higher quality establishments and retail shopping, alongside emphases on the cultural and creative industries. Foucault has suggested that a key aspect of the "art of government"- or governmentality- is the "integration of the economy" into political governance (Foucault, 1991, p. 92), so this becomes central to my analyses of the governmentality of reform.

Before I approached the context of research, it was important that I gained a clearer understanding of relevant concepts and theories that would be beneficial for my analyses of culture and contexts of cultural policy and reform. In the following section, I introduce key works that led to my approach towards analyzing culture as an empty circle. As I introduce the important scholarship and ideas, I explain how they contributed to the development of my approach, and I conclude this section with a discussion of how it informs my research and analysis in this project.

In accordance with Harvey's view that cities are turning to entrepreneurial governance, Bianchini (1999) has described the mid-1980s as "the age of city marketing" (as cited in Garcia, 2004: 315). This introduces a shift from the 1940s to the 1960s, when cultural policies intended to distinguish high cultural forms from other material objects and economic activities; and, it represents a shift from the 1970s up to the early 80s, when cultural policies continued to distinguish between the role of culture and cultural policies as social and political, in contrast with economic policies and activities. Bianchini (1993) explains that in the age of city marketing, cultural policies are considered "a valuable tool in diversifying the local economic base and achieving greater social cohesion" (p. 2). City decision-makers have started paying attention "to expanding economic sectors like leisure, tourism, the media and other 'cultural industries' including fashion and design" (Bianchini, 1993, p. 2). This shift was considered a response to particular changing conditions and resulting global forces that are associated with the increased mobility of capital investments, people and information, which

now flow freely around the world and are not tied to particular locations. In this highly mobile and globally connected world, people, capital and businesses can easily and quickly relocate according to different incentives or objectives.

A lively, cosmopolitan cultural life was increasingly seen as a crucial ingredient of city marketing and 'internationalisation' strategies, designed to attract mobile international capital and specialized personnel, particularly in the high-tech industrial and advanced service sectors (Bianchini, 1993, p. 2).

As a result, cities that intended to thrive as urban centers began fiercely competing to attract residents, visitors, investors and businesses and striving to keep existing users satisfied. The new perspectives and approaches towards culture and cultural policy related to a corresponding emphasis on existing and desirable cultural and creative industries, and these have become key elements of cultural policy and reform strategies for economic development.

The fact that cultural policies were used to attract particular people and businesses to cities suggests that culture was no longer only attached to local identities, industries, places or practices, but instead, it was something that was used to represent places in particular ways that would attract new people who would identify with particular aspects of the local culture. Thus, in order to study the concept of culture in relation to these emerging policies and strategies for marketing cities, it becomes necessary to consider how culture relates to places, as well as the industries and identities that were associated with these cities.

Scholarship on the cultural industries is useful for understanding how certain businesses and sectors are linked to ideas about culture and what is considered cultural. However, I will argue that they contribute to the understanding that culture is the product of certain industries that are defined based on a specific understanding of culture; this does not account for the ways that people or practices contribute to our understandings of culture or the ways that industries or their output become cultural or culturally significant. In his article, "Recent Employment Trends in the Cultural Industries in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht A First Exploration", Kloosterman (2004) offers what is described as the first "quantitative exploration of the cultural industries in the Netherlands" (p. 244). He presents data from 1993 to 2001 and documents employment trends in eight selected "cultural industries", which are defined according to Scott (2000) as those industries that are "concerned with producing and marketing goods and services that are permeated in one way or another with broadly aesthetic or semiotic attributes" (as cited in Kloosterman, 2004, p. 245). The author acknowledges two important facts: first, the commodification of culture is hardly a new trend, noting that in the Netherlands this goes back at least as far as the Dutch Golden Age; second, the designation of cultural industries is ambiguous and has become increasingly difficult, particularly for empirical studies. Nevertheless, the author still asserts that he has selected industries that leave little "room for doubt with respect to the 'cultural' aspect of the economic activities concerned" (Kloosterman, 2004, p. 245). These include: publishers, architectural services, advertising, movie and video production, radio and television program production, performing arts, news agencies and



journalists, and libraries, museums, nature protections. He proceeds to analyze particular trends relating to these industries without questioning how they are culturally significant.

In spite of the preliminary nature of the research, he states, “The data definitely show a spatial concentration of cultural industries in the four largest cities and in Amsterdam in particular” (Kloosterman, 2004, p. 247). The author also states that in relation to the overall employment in the cities considered, in both 1993 and in 2001, Amsterdam emerged as the “cultural capital” (Kloosterman, 2004, p. 247).

In their paper, “Tracing the Roots of Cultural Industries: Employment Trends in Cultural Industries in Dutch Cities since 1899”, Deinema and Kloosterman (2009) present a study of a century of employment trends in five cultural industries in four main cities in the Netherlands. They define the “so-called ‘cultural industries’” as “the producers of aesthetic or symbolic commodities” (Deinema & Kloosterman, 2009, p. 121). The authors suggest that many national and city governments are continually striving to stimulate cultural production, while the industries and their dynamics remain ambiguous and varied; on the other hand, Deinema and Kloosterman (2009) describe certain attributes that they share:

They dictate styles, need to innovate continually, and produce as commodities the beauty or symbolism that we refer to as cultural. In all cultural industries, value is created mainly through the appearance, presentation and aesthetic impact of products and services rather than through their functionality (p. 123).

From this perspective, we are introduced to a broad conceptualization of culture as the output of cultural industries, which is not functional or necessarily tangible, but is above all, semiotic. However, in the assertion that cultural industries “dictate styles” and produce what we consider “cultural”, it becomes crucial to question the processes of cultural production. The authors focus on how specific cultural industries become rooted in particular cities and how they engage with cultural-economic activities and become “amenable to local policy intervention” (Deinema and Kloosterman, 2009, p. 123). However, their discussion focuses on the evolution and success of the industries and does not largely reflect on the industries’ contextualization within the cities or region, as *a priori* cultural contexts. Interestingly, however, when the authors turn to discuss Amsterdam, they recognize the importance of acknowledging the idea of culture in the city as beyond the scope of cultural production and consumption. They first state that “without a doubt, Amsterdam should be seen as the Netherlands’ cultural capital” and they continue to explain:

Direct interaction between specific cultural industries and a general artistic atmosphere has turned the city into a source and catalyst of creativity, as well as a magnet for Dutch and foreign talent. Not only tourists are attracted to the countless cultural amenities in Amsterdam...No other city holds such appeal to people seeking to relocate within the Netherlands. This appeal has naturally led to an expansion of Amsterdam’s already sizeable creative class (Deinema and Kloosterman, 2009, p. 129).

They introduce different historical factors and explanations for the contemporary context of cultural industries in Amsterdam, pointing to the success of the city's 17<sup>th</sup> century publishers, the city's early modern arts and culture, its theatre scene that emerged into prominence in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, along with the symbolic Red Light District and coffeeshops. They suggest that the city's two universities contribute to the cultural industries, through their contribution to a skilled and creative class of entrepreneurs and cultural consumers (Dienema and Kloosterman, 2009, p. 129). They also acknowledge that in addition to the role that specific cultural industries have played in the city's "cultural prowess", other factors, notably the city's history of tolerance, have largely impacted the exponential growth of the city's diverse, innovative population that contributes to its cultural industries. The authors' analysis of the cultural industries in Amsterdam shares certain points with Richard Florida's creative city thesis, which prominently introduced the concept of creativity into urban policy discourses with his conceptualization of a creative class of individuals who formed the lynchpin of successful contemporary cities (Florida, 2002). This creative class is defined as:

People in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music, and entertainment whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and new creative content. Around this core, the Creative Class also includes a broader group of *creative professionals* in business and finance, law, health care, and related fields...all members of the Creative Class- whether they are artists or engineers, musicians or computer scientists, writers or entrepreneurs- share a common ethos that values creativity, individuality, difference and merit (Florida, 2002, pp. 8-9).

When the authors describe Amsterdam, they highlight the link between the cultural industries and creativity in the city and the importance of what Florida refers to as the 3Ts of the creative city, or talent, technology and tolerance (Florida, 2002, p. 228; 2005, pp. 6-7).

While research on the cultural industries acknowledges the ambiguity and diversity of these industries, it does not critically engage with the links between the industries and culture in cities. However, Dienema and Kloosterman (2009) point out the important connection between creativity and the cultural industries, linking this to different groups of people who are attracted to Amsterdam and its cultural amenities. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to account for the ways those people- including tourists, those wishing to relocate and the creative class- experience and impact culture in the city.

Trip (2007) has studied Amsterdam and Rotterdam to clarify and test elements of Florida's creative city thesis and specifically his concept "quality of place" (p. 502). Trip (2007) explains that the creative class chooses to live in particular places based on specific urban qualities rather than for job opportunities. The creative industries are characterized by relatively high job mobility, so it is more productive for cities to "focus on holding on to the right, talented people than on attracting firms". Trip (2007) continues, "crucial for this is quality of place: an attractive, diverse and tolerant urban environment is being increasingly recognized as a key factor in urban competitiveness" (p. 502). He explains that Florida's conceptualization of quality of place is distinct because it applies to the ways that a city attracts a broad range of people:

It entails a set of factors that collectively make a city an attractive place of residence for the creative class: economic and spatial diversity, specific leisure and cultural amenities that fit the interest of the creative class, a mixed population, the chance of informal meetings in so-called “third spaces,”<sup>4</sup> safety, vibrancy, as well as indefinable aspects such as authenticity, tolerance, street life, buzz, and urbanity (Trip, 2007a, p. 503).

On the one hand, Trip considers Florida’s conceptualization of quality of place more specific than previous notions of quality, while he also acknowledges the challenges it implies for research and analysis. The notion of authenticity exemplifies an aspect of quality of place that is experienced subjectively and thus acquires meaning and significance differently for each person and place. Yet, Florida (2002) tells readers that during his research, people frequently defined authenticity “as the opposite of generic. They equate authentic with being real, as in a place that has real buildings, real people, real history” (p. 295), and this is important to people; it influences their experiences of places. Authenticity, moreover, is only one such element within a vast symbolic economy, “based on such unquantifiable ‘feelings,’ rather than on just production, transport, and even design costs” (Trip, 2007, p. 503). Trip recognizes that the main problem with the concept of quality of place is that many- and perhaps the most important- elements are elusive qualities that are difficult to quantify. Nevertheless, he suggests, “the essence of quality of place seems to lie in the qualities it embodies, rather than in the criteria themselves” (Trip, 2007, p. 506). Thus, while studies rely on empirical criteria, and policies employ ideas and ideals of quality, it is necessary to consider how places come to embody particular qualities as well as perceptions of the quality of place and what this entails in a particular city.

Romein and Trip (2012) describe what they consider key elements of the creative city, ranking them in terms of their potential to be influenced by local policies. They begin with the elements that they consider to be “practically impossible” for policies to impact and proceed to those that are “relatively easy” to influence (p. 28). The first element is “social climate”, which refers to “diversity, prevailing values and attitudes, and social tolerance and openness towards different kinds of people and cultures”, and they explain that qualities such as tolerance and open-mindedness are likely to be self-reinforcing, but it is nearly impossible to design policies that have an effect on the nature of social values and thus the social climate (Romein and Trip, 2012, p. 28).

Another element that is particularly difficult for policy to prompt is the “buzz” or “atmosphere” that emerges from creative activity and interactivity in and through the life and space of the city. For example, this can occur through the diversity and vitality of public spaces and spontaneous encounters in “third spaces”. They explain that policy can introduce third spaces and diversity into a city’s streets, but it cannot program the atmosphere that results from interventions.

---

<sup>4</sup> After work and home (Florida, 2002, p. 291)

On the other hand, they note, these elements can be “‘planned away’ quite easily” (Romein & Trip, 2012, p. 29).

There is a plethora of scholarship on the development of creative cities with diverse, distinct and authentic public spaces and neighborhoods that appeal to different kinds of people (e.g. Bianchini, 1993; Florida, 2002; Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Pratt, 2010; Peck, 2012).

When the authors introduce the urban atmosphere of Amsterdam, they explain that the city is unique, in part, because of the built environment of its inner city, which dates back to its prominence at the center of international trade in the Golden Age of the Netherlands:

This historic area has a small-scale urban landscape with high densities of cultural heritage that is structured by a system of canals and historic bridges and dotted with many constructed ‘pub and club amenities’ (Romein & Trip, 2012, p. 33).

They describe qualities of Amsterdam that relate to the city’s historical and built qualities, which are important for quality of place. Amsterdam is also recognized for its social climate, which is characterized by a highly multi-ethnic population and is “renowned for a very long tradition of tolerance, culture of openness and large social diversity” (Romein & Trip, 2012, pp. 33-4).

Amsterdam shows ambition to present itself “as a metropolis with an international focus” (Romein & Trip, 2012, p. 34), and this is emphasized by the city’s agenda for reasserting its position among the top five most attractive European cities for businesses and its strategic city marketing campaign.

In their conclusions, the authors note that current research on creative city development focuses on creative industries, urban economic development and indexes of urban quality. They confirm that such research corresponds with current policy and suggest “less attention is being paid to the role of intangibles and amenities, and the way they are experienced by different groups of creative talent” (Romein & Trip, 2012, p. 48). While they acknowledge that these elements are “difficult to grasp”, the authors also explain that it is these less quantifiable attributes that: “for a large part define the symbolic value of cities and places- which, due to the long-term processes, has become an increasingly important factor of urban competitiveness. Without them a large part of cities’ identity is overlooked” (Romein & Trip, 2012, p. 48). These conclusions coincide with my view that this scholarship avoids defining or clarifying the concept of culture, in this case with respect to the significant yet difficult to describe qualities that impact cultural identities, industries, places and practices. Future research should be more concerned with “how different amenities are related, particularly in terms of users, and what value specific groups of mutually related amenities have for specific social groups” (Romein & Trip, 2012, p.48). Moreover, studies should consider how creative talent and different groups use and value social spaces and qualities of city life. Their conclusions coincide with the objectives of my project, and broadly, with my approach towards researching the concept of culture in relation to development and reform.

The scholarship introduced above suggests that where culture enters into theoretical- as well as policy- discourses, it lacks qualification. In the majority of cases, analyses begin with preconceived

notions of culture, for example, in terms of the culture associated with the cultural industries. My main objective is to elucidate the hole that prior studies- and policies- have drawn around culture. In the final section of this chapter, I return to Foucault's concept of governmentality, which I present as a productive tool for analyzing how policies inform and impact- and at times reflect- culture.

---

### 1.3 *Introducing Culture: the Governmentality of Cultural Policies and Reforms*

---

Foucauldian governmentality offers an analytical tool for studying how individuals and society are organized- or conducted. This is applicable to the Netherlands, which is recognized as a consensual and disciplined society. Foucault explains that governmentality “has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instruments” (Foucault, 2009, p. 108). Thus, it is a tool for analyzing forms or strategies of governing that influence how people and populations act and affects how people become subjects of these governing strategies:

A change in governmentality signifies a change in the ways state and life worlds are being defined and separated; the borders between state, market and social society are created by governmentality (Cotoi, 2011, p. 111).

This project focuses on a transitional moment, signified by reforms, when policies are intending to change precisely what is described above as the objects of governmentality: the way that social, political and economic worlds come together through policies and reforms. Thus, governmentality is a productive concept for analyzing these changes, in relation to the policies and reforms that are accountable for the transitions. Cotoi (2011) continues to explain that governmentality analysis concerns “a special stratum of discourses and practices of knowledge and power”:

It is about the emergence of specific ‘regimes of truth’, exploring the ways in which various modalities of speaking the truth are formed, authorized truth speaking persons designated, and areas in which, about whom and from where, statements, discourses and practices rooted in truth are generated (p. 111).

Thus, governmentality is a concept that is conducive to the object of my study, and it provides direction for the methodology that is suited to my objectives. Since I am primarily concerned with how policies and reforms are constructing and intervening in culture, it is productive to focus on how culture is constructed through “regimes of truth” (Foucault, 1995). As I explain in the following chapter, I have decided that Critical Discourse Analysis is the most productive method for my project, since I am interested in analyzing how discourse is formed by power relations and how discourse impacts social identities and relations as well as regimes of truth (Fairclough, 1992, p. 12).

I begin with the expectation that we can identify a shift in governmentality in Amsterdam. I will question how the shift in governmentality in Amsterdam relates to shifting discourses on culture that come forth in policies and reforms that introduce socio-cultural priorities through economic/organizational rationalities. In my analyses of my case studies, I question how identities, industries, places and practices are conducted and constructed in discourses of (cultural) policy and reform. My objective is to analyze how particular aspects of everyday life become associated with the concept of culture, by analyzing how people become subjects of localities, industries are associated with cultural/creative processes and production, and certain practices become linked to the socio-economic life and space of the city.

As I discussed in my preface, this project evolved across different disciplines, and as the discussion above reveals, my research draws upon scholarship from different fields of study. I felt it was important to refer to various research perspectives because the focus of my study- culture- is too broad to consider from one perspective. Additionally, I have chosen to question culture in relation to phenomena that do not fall into a particular discipline or field of study. Whereas city marketing and branding have been studied from economic perspectives, they are also framed by politics and urban studies. However, in order to analyze culture in relation to these phenomena, this project is primarily seeking to present cultural analyses that can inform the disciplines that this project engages with. Thus, this project does not seek to contribute a specific finding to one particular discipline. Instead, in my conclusions, my aim is to offer insight into the way that policies and reforms impact experiences of culture in the cases that I consider. This goal has specific and general intentions. I hope to provide specific information about how strategic interventions can productively engage with Amsterdam's culture from local and global perspectives. In a broader sense, this project intends to offer insight into the significance of culture in contexts of contemporary cultural policies and reforms; additionally, it seeks to reflect on how policymakers can benefit from utilizing this understanding to further their agendas. From the perspective of cultural analysis, I will suggest that scholars across disciplines who engage in research on culture-led policies and reforms can benefit from explicit accounts of culture that do not take this concept for granted.

## 2. METHODOLOGY: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

---

### 2.1 *Critical Discourse Analysis: Introduction*

---

In the previous chapter, I referred to my intention to use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to study the governmentality of cultural policies and reforms. Following Foucault, my aim is to identify particular discourses of power that construct knowledge and truth about culture. Foucault (1980) explains:

There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates on the basis of this association. We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth (p. 93).

In general terms, I am interested in *what* expresses culture or cultural value and *how* this occurs. My conceptualization of culture is informed by a constructivist perspective, so I question how different things- for example information, images, policies, identities and practices- function as constitutive forces that process and produce culture in Amsterdam. As a method, discourse analysis enables me to identify how culture is constituted through discourse. Fairclough (1992) explains:

Discourse contributes to the constitution of all those dimensions of social structure which directly or indirectly shape and constrain it: its own norms and conventions, as well as the relations, identities and institutions which lie behind them. Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning (p. 64).

I research information that falls under a broad definition of discourse, and the methodological approach for collecting and analyzing data is a form of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Critical discourse analysis has evolved and acquired a range of terms and concepts, as it has been applied in different disciplines. Nonetheless, there remains a general framework- or agenda- that unites critical discourse analyses. As a methodology, CDA intends to provide a coherent approach for researching otherwise impervious or obscure relationships of causality and determination through the concept of discourse. It is distinct from other forms of discourse analysis that are not “critical” in that it implies a critical approach towards both the object of research and the theories and or concepts used in the process of analyses. Fairclough (1992) explains:

Critical approaches differ from non-critical approaches in not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants (p. 12).

Like critical theory, Wodak and Meyer (2009) explain:

CDA emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power.

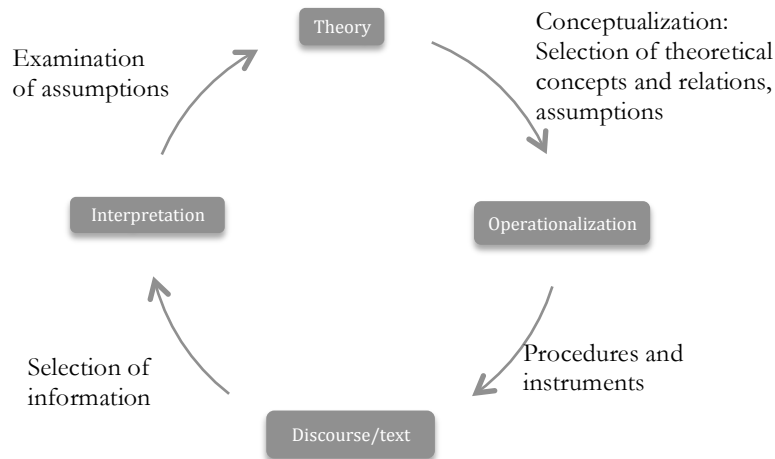
They continue:

CDA researchers have to be aware that their own work is driven by social, economic and political motives like any other academic work and that they are not in any privileged position (p. 7).

When I decided to develop a methodology based on CDA, it was important that I incorporated my own accountability into my methodological framework. I achieved this in three ways. First, I combined a theoretically driven model, which I present below, with a practical-analytical model, introduced in the next section. As I explain, the cyclical model that directed my theoretical reflections ensured that I remained aware of my position in relation to my research and my project, as a whole. Second, as I explain further in section 2.3, my case study in Chapter 6 analyzes an academic discourse of the policies and reforms that I am researching in this study. This study accounts for the way that social, political and economic conditions influence academic work; it also considers how academic work responds to and represents- even constructs- these conditions. In this chapter, I analyze an article that I wrote while I was conducting research for this project. In this respect, this study enables me to reflect on how my perspective is impacted by my situation within the context of the study. Furthermore, the inclusion of my own work holds me accountable to my own position in relation to the context and discourses I am studying. The third way that accountability is incorporated into my methodological approach is broader and relates to my situation and perspective throughout my study. When I began the research for my project, I had been a resident in Amsterdam for two years. Therefore, I could not be considered a tourist or a visitor, yet I was never considered a local. When the city marketing campaign began, I realized that I was comparable to particular target groups that the city wanted to attract to the city with the policies and reforms that I was studying. From this perspective, I was in an optimal position to question the effectiveness of the city's strategies and consider whether or not they appealed to me. At the same time, I was a resident of the city, and I felt a sense of local pride in the city that had begun to feel like my home. From this perspective, I felt justified in reflecting on the policies and reforms from my position within the city.

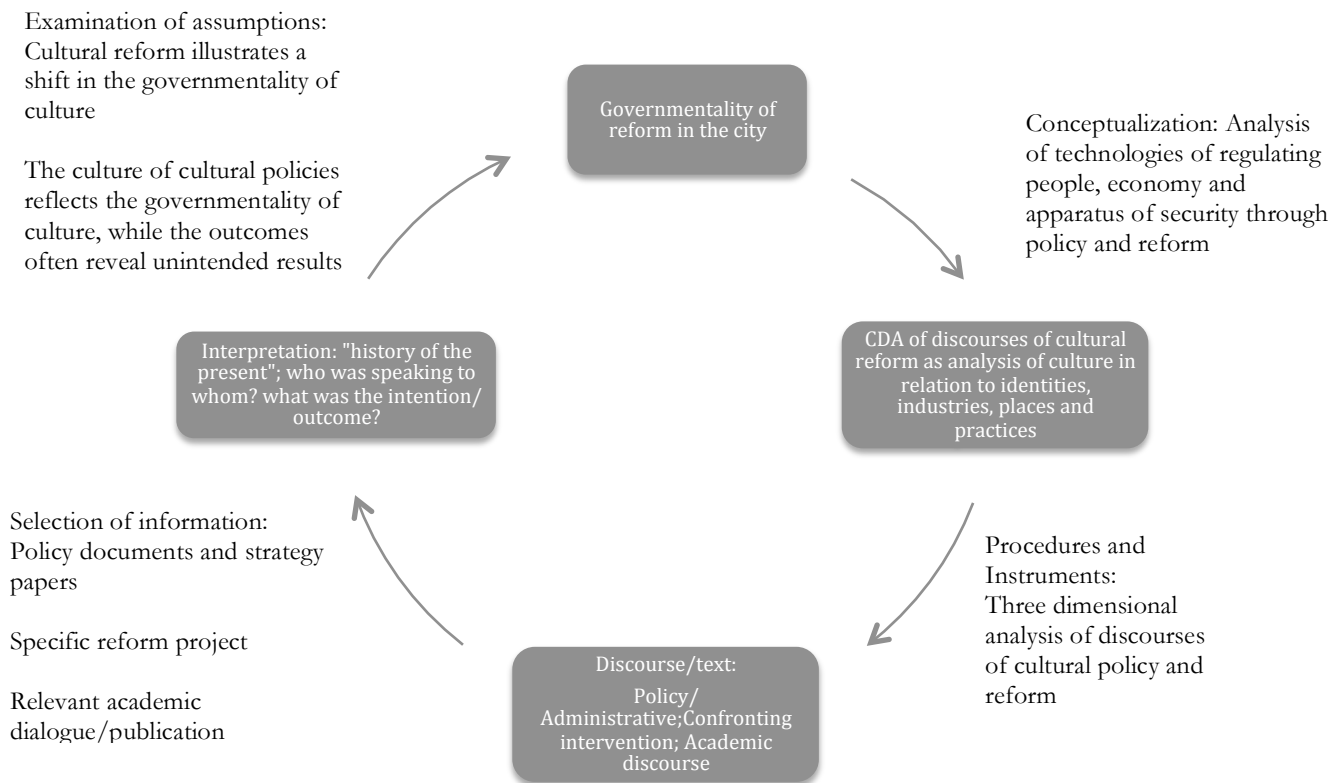
Meyer (2009) presents the following basic diagram to illustrate a circular process for conducting CDA (p. 19):





### General Model Guiding CDA

And, below is the model, based on my starting assumptions and the concepts that directed my approach at the start of my project.



Alongside this cyclical model, I also introduce a simple framework for analyzing discourse in this study. In the following section, I clarify how I define and approach discourse in this project.

*Discourse* is a term that has multiple meanings, depending on how it is used. Bloor and Bloor (2007) have described six ways that the word is applied in social, linguistic and textual analysis. 1) It can be used broadly, to refer to “all the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people”, but 2) it has also been used to describe only spoken interaction. 3) Additionally, it has been applied as a term of distinction, with “discourse” being used “in contrast with ‘text’, where ‘text’ refers to actual written or spoken data, and ‘discourse’ refers to the whole act of communication”; 4) Discourse has also described the communication that is specific to a particular institutional context. 5) In other cases, discourse, or “a discourse” has described a particular text; finally, 6) the “multi-modal” discourse, “relies on more than one mode of communication” (pp. 6-7). In this project, discourse is defined in more than one way, as I am using discourse analysis to research the broad and complex concept of culture. As I explained in the previous section, I am approaching my analyses from a constructivist perspective, attempting to understand how different meanings become associated with a cultural quality or dimension that is linked to Amsterdam. Thus, I will not limit my understanding of discourse to only spoken or written forms, for example, but in certain cases it might be productive to isolate a particular discursive form or practice within my analysis. My approach will be guided by the objectives of CDA and my project.

Van Dijk (1993) explains that CDA:

Is primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis. Theories, descriptions, methods and empirical work are chosen or elaborated as a function of their relevance for the realization of such a socio-political goal (p. 252).

Critical discourse analysts are aligned with social and political scientists who are interested in critiquing the reproduction of power relations between social groups. Their approach is distinct because it seeks to contribute through gaining “insight into the crucial role of discourse in the reproduction of dominance and inequality” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 253). Wodak and Meyer (2009) explain, “any social phenomenon lends itself to critical investigation, to be challenged and not taken for granted” (p. 2). The aim of CDA is to identify the connection between discourse and power relations that are not immediately apparent and to show how discourse simultaneously obscures and produces power relations through discourse. Here we can see the corresponding aims of CDA and cultural studies, both seeking to analyze the reproduction of power relations. For cultural studies, the analysis of cultural forms and activities is framed within “the context of relations of power which condition their production, circulation, deployment and, of course effects” (Bennett, 1998, p. 60). Through CDA, my aim will be to question how discourse conditions, produces, circulates, deploys and effects the cultural dimension of particular “forms and activities” in Amsterdam.

I approach discourse as:

Socially *constitutive* as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258)

This reflects the constructive nature of discourse, which is considered to be in an “active relation” to the social world (Fairclough, 1992, p. 41).

Fairclough (1995) explains, “I see discourse as a complex of three elements: social practice, discursive practice (text production, distribution and consumption), and text, and the analysis of a specific discourse calls for the analysis in each of these three dimensions and their interrelations” (p. 74). This becomes the basis of his “‘three-dimensional’ CDA framework” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 97), which provides the approach that I have selected for research and analysis in this project. Broadly, the method is based on identifying connections between “dimensions” of discourse, where discourse is comprised of 1) texts, 2) discourse practice, and 3) wider sociocultural practice, as can be understood from the following basic model:



He clarifies:

Discourse, and any specific instance of discursive practice, is seen as simultaneously (i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), (iii) sociocultural practice. Furthermore, a piece of discourse is embedded within sociocultural practice at a number of levels; in the immediate situation, in the wider institution or organization, and at a societal level (Fairclough, 1995, p. 97).

The methodology of this three-dimensional approach includes three levels of analysis, which relate to the dimensions of discourse. The first level is the *description* of a text, or “text analysis”. The second level builds upon this and is *interpretation* of discourse practice. This second level, “processing interpretation” refers to the analysis of different ways that a text becomes meaningful, both in its

production and interpretation. The third level extends this to the level of the contextualization of the text and refers to *explanation* in terms of “social analysis”. At this level, discourse is analyzed in terms of sociocultural practices, which are contextualized in relation to social structures and institutions (Fairclough, 1995, p. 98).

The first dimension of analysis that Fairclough introduces is the analysis of the *text*. “Text” is a broad term that can refer to a document or individual statements, or it can describe a visual text like an image or performance that conveys meaning through symbols or a narrative structure. Fairclough (2003) explains:

We might say that any actual instance of language in use is a ‘text’- though even that is too limited, because texts such as television programmes involve not only language but also visual images and sound effects (p. 3).

For each of my analyses, I begin with an outline of the three dimensions of the discourse. I proceed to analyze the first dimension, the *text*. Fairclough (2003) explains:

We can begin by noting that for any particular text or type of text, there is a set of other texts and a set of voices which are potentially relevant, and potentially incorporated into the text. It may not be possible to identify these sets with great precision, and they may be rather extensive and complex. But it is analytically useful to begin with some rough idea of them, for a significant initial question is: which texts and voices are included, which are excluded, and what significant absences are there (p. 47).

At the first level of text we can identify voices in the text that are contributing to the regime of truth about culture in Amsterdam..

I will suggest that a Foucauldian approach is productive for analyzing social and discourse structures in terms of subjectively defined, “relevant properties of communicative situations that influence text and talk” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 14). This becomes possible through analyses of the representation, (de)construction and (re)contextualization of ideas, ideologies, norms, values and knowledge that emerge through discourses of reform. This perspective highlights the important link between discourse and knowledge. This is also where power can be seen to be central to CDA, which often:

Analyses the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities. Typically, CDA researchers are interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination, that is, the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 9).

Throughout my analyses I emphasize the link between discourses, knowledge and power, which are linked through the concept of governmentality, which I introduced in section 1.3. As I explained, the analysis of governmentality concerns the emergence of a particular rationality that can be identified through the institutions and organizing practices that conduct and construct social subjects and the social world.

The general model that I use for CDA is very basic. The most important aspect of my analytical framework is that the process remains critical and reflexive, so each stage of research can provide feedback and insight for the previous and the next. The model that I introduced at the end of section 2.1 illustrates the general framework that I developed around theories and concepts that related to the object I intended to study. As I became familiar with the topic of research, I constructed my approach based on the information I acquired and new areas of inquiry. At each stage of research and analysis, my intention was to uncover more information about the concept and content of culture that I considered and to critically reflect upon the theories that I used in the process of my research and analysis.

Throughout my project, I remained attuned to how Fairclough's three-dimensional approach was beneficial for guiding my discourse analyses and broadly distinguishing aspects- or levels- of the discourses I considered; thus, my theoretical and conceptual model incorporates Fairclough's approach into a more complex framework that is critical, both of the discourses and ideas that I address. In other words, it enabled me to conduct critical analyses of discourses of reform, which aimed at clarifying the contexts of culture that are relevant for my project. In each section of my analysis, my objective will be to look at how discourses of reform frame culture in relation to the contexts of reform that are presented through the different discourses I analyze. Thus, I expect that this analytical approach will enable me to conceptualize "culture" in relation to the distinct contexts of cultural policy and reform. At the same time, this model will enable me to remain accountable to the theories and assumptions that guide my analyses. As I proceed with my analyses, I will continually reflect on this model in light of my enhanced analytical insights and objectives.

---

### 2.3 *Critical Discourse Analysis: Selecting case studies*

---

One of the main challenges of this project is considering the broad range of people who contribute to the cultural image and identity of Amsterdam. The Netherlands, and Amsterdam explicitly, has a long history of policies and institutions that contribute to individual experiences of culture, and these need to be taken into account. Additionally, it will be essential to consider how cultural and creative industries relate to Amsterdam's culture. They can be seen as the sources of cultural and creative output that intend to attract creative workers and other members of the creative class; they also function through the discourse of cultural policies and reforms and impact experiences and perceptions of culture.

This has become especially relevant in the context of globalization, where rapidly increasing mobility extends beyond the ever-expanding tourism industry, and the marketing of certain destinations now targets residents, businesses and a variety of entrepreneurs in addition to tourists. It is not enough to merely acknowledge the fact that destination marketing and branding has had a profound impact on how places are represented, but it is critical to account for the ways that this

transformation influences and is reflected in the life of the city for tourists, residents and other targets of these strategic interventions. Amsterdam offers an example of a city that has responded to the expanding global tourism industry with a specific cultural image that appeals to certain visitors (e.g. Dahles, 1998; Nijman, 1999); now, there are many indications of a shift in the City's approach towards attracting visitors, symbolized by the I Amsterdam brand and ongoing plans to enhance the quality of life and space in the city (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2007). The strategic city marketing and branding coincides with the recent addition of new residents and businesses as targets of the reforms. In this respect, analyses of these discourses offer important information about how Amsterdam strategically negotiates the interplay of local and global audiences and perspectives in the process of reforming its cultural image and identity.

I approached my research and analyses with the primary intention of inquiring into the common denominator of reform. Furthermore, I was looking for changes that intended to function through interventions in the meaning of culture. I divided my case studies into three kinds of discourse that I refer to as: 1) the administrative/policy discourse, 2) discourses from intervention, and 3) the academic discourse.

I began my research with the administrative/policy discourse, identifying resources from those who were initiating interventions in the city. I expected that these would also offer information about those who were participating in, representing, experiencing, exposed to or displaced from the contexts of reform. Ultimately, my analyses intended to respond to my central research question: What is the relationship between the "culture" of reform policies and strategies and the "culture" that is attributed to the identities, industries, places and practices in the city? It was important that my analyses addressed the dominant discourse and representations of culture without assuming that these were the most or only powerful forces in the context of reform. I also needed to identify sources and agents of culture that interacted with and possibly opposed the administrative agenda.

It seemed critical to include specific case studies that enabled me to study cultural policy and reform within the everyday life and space of the city. In addition to analyzing how the cultural industries and ideas of creativity and quality entered into policies as discourses of reform, I had to include data that reflected different people's everyday lives and experiences.

My decision to begin with two case studies that introduce different sides of the policy/administrative discourse was primarily based on the fact that these offered a clear perspective that influences the other discourses I consider. I proceed to analyze the subsequent discourses in relation to this administrative discourse, which I expect is also impacted by the other discourses that I consider.

Since the City of Amsterdam began to reform its cultural image and identity through the process of city branding, there have been a number of publications that have shed light on this process and initiative. Some of these were produced as policy papers and others as academic articles, and each offers important information about the plans for the city, the objectives of the urban

reforms and the institutional and social relations of power that are realizing intervention in the city center. In 2003, “Choosing Amsterdam” was drafted as a policy paper and information pamphlet that discussed the decision to implement a strategy for city branding and the development of the city’s brand (Berenschot, 2003). The paper introduces the research that led certain individuals to value the idea of branding Amsterdam for the benefit of the city, and it elaborates on the research (surveys, interviews, perspectives, etc.) that contributed to the City’s approach to transforming its image through a cultural concept and brand. This kind of policy report, along with other such public documents as strategy papers, for example “Heart of Amsterdam: Future Perspectives” (Oppedijk, 2008) and press releases, such as “Quality for the Heart of Amsterdam” (I amsterdam, 2008) contribute to the public’s perception of what is taking place in the city and also discursively link culture to the policies and reforms. They contribute to a truth regime about culture that is constructed through the governmentality of reform.

The first two studies should be seen as part of the policy/administrative discourse. They are both part of a broader process of culture-led development and reform in Amsterdam. However, they illustrate distinct ways that this discourse operates in the reform context: The first case study is the development and implementation of the “I amsterdam” brand. The city marketing and branding campaign primarily emphasizes- and depends on- a positive image and identity for the city and its future; the second study looks at Plan 1012, an area-specific reform project in the city center. This reform project is justified by and implies the need for changing and developing certain aspects of the city in order to realize its potential in the future. As I explain below, the first case study can be considered broader and less bounded in terms of time and space, while the second refers to reforms that occur in designated spaces and timeframes.

The I amsterdam brand is the most apparent and widespread manifestation of cultural reform in the city, so it seemed obvious and important to include in my study. The brand marks objects, spaces and people in the city, and it becomes necessary to consider how organizations and individuals relate to city marketing, both in the process of brand development, and after its introduction. For example, it would be important to consider how certain people used the brand to speak, some actively resisted the implications of change, and perhaps some people were denied access to the statement that was being made. Ultimately, my aim will be to address how the discourse of city marketing and Amsterdam’s brand expressed a strategic intervention in the image and identity of the city in terms of culture.

When I analyze the redevelopment of the 1012 postal code area, I focus on policies that are strategically and intentionally redeveloping a specific area in the city center and examples of the planned reduction of the city’s Red Light District. This case looks at the City’s “key projects” for this area, which are described in documents that explain how culture-led reforms will enhance the quality of life in central Amsterdam.

While I was conducting my research, various different culture-led development projects were taking place around Amsterdam, and the majority of these could have been addressed in relation to strategic city marketing and city branding. I realized it was productive to narrow my focus to a manageable section of the city, the 1012 postcode zone in the center, which was an area that was being targeted by reform policies, such as Plan 1012. This was likely due to its position in the heart of the city center, and it was often noted that this area was lacking quality, had become conducive to organized crime and was attracting the wrong kinds of businesses and tourists. It is also worth noting that this area contains the oldest part of the city and attracts the most attention from tourists who associate elements of the visual landscape with a range of attributes- whether social, spatial, ideological or other- that are culturally significant to Amsterdam's image and identity.

While I was conducting research, between 2008 and 2010, policy papers and press releases, along with various media publications had already addressed the reforms in the city center, or "Plan 1012", as it was called, and I return to analyze some of these in chapter 4. I also observed other changes that were taking place in the city center that I considered to be simultaneously contextualized within the policy/reform discourse and also resisting them. Therefore, I refer to them as discourses from interventions in the city. I describe them as coming "from" interventions because they are discourses that would not exist without the discourses of reform, but they do not coincide with the dominant- or administrative/policy- discourses of reform. The term intervention has two meanings here. It refers to the reforms that are intervening in the city. It also suggests that this discourse of reform is indeed reforming the context of the city. However, it appears to be intervening in the context of (cultural) reform that it is responding to, and perhaps resisting. In this sense, the concept of culture that is produced through discourses from intervention may be seen as the outcome of the concept of culture that comes forth through discourses of policy and reform, while it simultaneously can be described as counter-cultural in relation to the policy discourse on culture-led reform.

The example that I include is Red A.i.R, an artist in residency program in the Red Light District. This directly relates to my second case study because the project was carried out as part of the Redlight Art Amsterdam initiative, which was developed under plan 1012. The residency was supported by the City as part of the reduction of the Red Light District and for the promotion of the creative industries in the city center. However, it manifested in various ways that did not necessarily reflect the City's ideals.

I had the opportunity to collect data from Red A.i.R between 2008 and 2009. Having previously researched the history of the sex work industry and the social life and space in the Red Light District, I was particularly fascinated by the way that culture was entering into discourses of the city's image through initiatives like Redlight Amsterdam that intervened in the area's people, places, industries and practices that had previously contributed to Amsterdam's global identity. For example, in a redlight fashion window, a designer displayed clothing on a mannequin in a former brothel



window, next to a prostitute who is hardly clothed, selling her body. Both referred to the city's world-renowned Red Light District, which characterizes the city in the global imagination. Prostitutes and the sex work industry are also associated with the history and identity of this part of the city, where brothels are built into the city's architecture. In many ways, the Red Light District exudes the intangible elements of the creative city that relate to quality of place, including authenticity, history and third spaces, and it is also a place of tolerance and diversity. Thus, it is easy to see why the Red Light District is associated with the culture of the city, and this attracts people from around the world. It is intriguing that policymakers want to reframe how culture is perceived and represented in the Red Light District.

Importantly, my second case study highlights the fact that I am not just interested in the way that policies and reforms inflict culture upon individuals and the city from above. My project also intends to study how cultural policies and reforms process and reflect culture through the everyday life and practices of the city. Therefore, it was important to unpack my central research question in a way that allowed me to explore how the cultural policies and reforms related to different peoples' everyday lives and experiences within and of the city. Thus, I questioned: *How do individuals, industries, places and practices engage with cultural policies and reforms in their everyday lives/practices in ways that reflect and represent cultural aspects of the city's image and identity?*

The final discourse of reform that I analyze is an academic discourse that centers on the changing context of prostitution in Amsterdam. The academic discourse that I analyze was presented as a special feature on Amsterdam's Red Light District, which specifically addressed the changing landscape of prostitution in the city. Thus, it is explicitly and intentionally an academic discourse on the reforming context of Amsterdam's Red Light District, and I include it to enhance the critical nature of my project. At first, I was tentative about including this particular academic discourse because I wrote one of the articles in the feature. However, it includes articles that address each of my case studies, and it also presents contributions from the curator and participating artists from the Red A.i.R program. Therefore, I can analyze the artists' contributions to a more specific academic discourse, which becomes part of the academic discourse of this project. It also presents an opportunity for me to critically reflect on my prior text as part of a discourse on reform.

In the next four chapters, I present my case studies. Each study includes different sources of information that contribute to my analyses of the three kinds of discourses of reform: Chapters 3 and 4 contribute to my analysis of the administrative/policy discourse; chapter 5 contributes to my analysis of the discourse from intervention; and, chapter 6 contributes to my analysis of the academic discourse. I try to proceed methodically with my analyses. In section 2.1, I presented a theoretically driven model of CDA that I began with at the start of this project. Following the critical approach towards discourse analysis that I use in this project, I continue to refine and present this model at different stages, illustrating how my assumptions and approach changed as I conducted my research and analyses. This model illustrates certain presuppositions that inform my analyses of the different

case studies. The changing models show how my views changed at each stage of my research, as a result of the analyses I was conducting.

In each section, I begin by introducing the particular content that I will consider. I describe the structure of the content, presenting an overview of its components in terms of the three dimensions of discourse and a general outline of what I will analyze. While the dimensions of discourse are sometimes difficult to distinguish, I attempt to present succinct accounts of each dimension of discourse in each of my analyses and summaries of the content I analyze, as reference points that can be useful alongside my detailed analyses. I include in depth descriptions and analyses of sections of the discourses that I have identified as relevant to this project.

### **3. A POLICY/ADMINISTRATIVE DISCOURSE OF REFORM: CULTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF CITY MARKETING AND BRANDING**

---

My first case study addresses the development and implementation of the “I amsterdam” brand. I had witnessed the introduction of the city’s new brand when I was conducting research in Amsterdam in the summer of 2005. I noticed it spreading throughout the city between 2006-2010. This offered a current, locally and globally relevant case for analysis. Importantly, it was also a case that I could study from different perspectives based on my unique situation in Amsterdam. During the time I was conducting my research, I was identifying more and more with the local residents of the city. Of course I would never be Dutch, but I was becoming more comfortable with the language and the everyday life of the city, and I no longer considered myself to be an outsider. There was a growing distance between me and the people who visited the city for business or pleasure. I also did not see the city in the same way as I had when I first arrived, and I realized that the longer I lived there, the more my view was informed by my associations with local inhabitants and my encounters with visitors, who also influenced how I experienced the city.

While I was becoming more comfortable identifying as resident of the city, the introduction of city branding and specifically the “I amsterdam” campaign led me to reflect on my position in the city. I began to realize that although I had lived in the city for a few years, I was precisely the kind of person that was being targeted by the strategic city marketing; I wondered if the city’s brand was still targeting me from within the city, or if it was trying to attract more people like me. After all, before I moved to Amsterdam, I had been a visitor, drawn to the creative and cultural capital in the city’s higher education institutions; as a result, I had returned to contribute to the city’s creative and cultural capital through these institutions. Given my situation and my perspective of the city and myself within the city, I approached discourses of city marketing and branding as discourses of reform that potentially took me as a target of their discourse. From this viewpoint, I was justified in approaching these discourses at different layers, so to speak. In other words, throughout this case study, my aim is to understand how policy/administrative discourses engage with different people who are the audiences and targets of these discourses. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to analyze the discourses differently, according to who is being targeted by the content that I am considering. For example, in certain cases, I will consider information that was presented to city administrators, and in other cases, I will consider information and images that were intended for locals and/or tourists. Some information was produced for one group and was made available for multiple groups, for example through the City’s internet portal. These are factors that influence how I will analyze the information because they determine how it becomes significant for the people who receive it.

With this particular case study, I am approaching my central research question through the relationship between the cultural dimensions of discourses of city marketing and branding, which represent a particular kind of policy and reform- *cultural* policy and *cultural* reform- and the cultural dimensions of the city's image and identity. As I explained in chapter 1, this project begins with culture as an empty circle that I hope to fill through my analyses. Thus, a key aim of this first case study is to question what is “cultural” about these particular kinds of policies and reforms, and how this can inform us about the “cultural” life of the city. Therefore, what I am asking is: *How can we understand cultural dimensions of the city in terms of the cultural dimensions of discourses of policies and reforms?*

In chapter 2, I summarized my main and sub-research questions as follows: 1) *What is the relationship between the “culture” of reform policies and strategies and the “culture” that is attributed to identities, industries, places and practices in the city?* 2) *How do individuals, industries, places and practices engage with cultural policies and reforms?* 3) *How do policies and reforms themselves reflect and represent cultural qualities of the city?* In this case study, question 1 looks at how strategic city marketing and branding present and represent culture through discourses of policy and reform. My analyses will identify what aspects of the city are described as cultural and how these become focal points of city marketing and branding. Furthermore, I will consider how administrative discourses intend to reform cultural dimensions of Amsterdam through strategic city marketing and branding. I am interested in how city marketing and branding represent different groups of people within the city, who are associated with the city's cultural identity; I will also look at how certain spaces are described in terms of the cultural life of the city, and how these spaces are targeted by policies and reforms; finally, I will consider how particular socio-cultural practices enter into discourses of culture in the city. Question 2 will require me to consider how city marketing and branding affect individuals, spaces and practices in order to analyze how this relates to culture in the city. I will have to read the discourses more critically, questioning and interpreting how representations of the city convey information about aspects of everyday life. I will also have to reflect on how policies and reforms intend to impact the everyday life of the city. Question 3 asks if the discourses of policy and reform express cultural dimensions of Amsterdam that can be understood in relation to the governmentality of reform.

I begin with analyses that are largely textually based, in order to assess the intentional messages that are conveyed through the discourses. This approach enables me address: the speaker and the intended audience; other influential voices in the discourse; key messages and/or narratives presented. Following my initial analysis, my intention is to begin to formulate hypotheses about how the discourse is representing culture or cultural forms within the city. I will then question if/how policies and reforms can be considered cultural in relation to the conceptualizations of culture that came forth in my analyses.

In section 3.1, I present a general introduction to city marketing and branding and reflect on this in relation to the contemporary case of Amsterdam. I proceed to analyze two documents that explicitly present the policy, or administrative, perspective. In section 3.2, I present the research

document that was commissioned by the City as the basis for developing a strategy for marketing and branding Amsterdam. In section 3.3, I present a second policy paper on the progress and future objectives for the I amsterdam campaign, which was published a year later, after the introduction of the brand.

---

### 3.1 *I Amsterdam: An Introduction to City Marketing and Branding in Amsterdam*

---

City marketing is now a global phenomenon that can be observed around the world. This is apparent when you enter the term “city marketing” online and find over 430,000 results (as of 2015, when this research was being completed<sup>5</sup>). Some of the top search results lead to websites for specific cities, while others direct browsers to more regional websites, for example beneath Wikipedia, which is the first result, the second website is for the non-profit organization European Cities Marketing, which is a platform that seeks to improve “the competitiveness and performance of the leading cities of Europe” (European Cities Marketing, 2015). There are also numerous articles on the growing academic field of city marketing and branding, as well as links for consultancy agencies and marketing organizations that facilitate city marketing strategies. The vast amount of information that is available for city marketers and those interested in this topic illustrates how this practice has evolved and gained significance in cities. However, the kind of city marketing and branding that I will focus on in this project is a particular kind of strategic city marketing that has evolved over time. Kotler, Haider and Rein (1993) have outlined three stages of city marketing leading up to the current phase of city branding, referring to the first stage as “smokestack chasing”, dating back to the 1930s. It was based on the idea that cities should exploit the existing opportunities and advantages of the local area and attract companies and industries through promoting low operating costs. In the second stage, cities began to target particular buyers and market themselves more competitively, leading to the expansion of profitable industries and the use of incentives to attract particular businesses (Kotler et. al 1993). In the third stage, referred to as “product development”, the focus shifted to expanding the number of jobs in target industries and attracting facilities from other locations to improve the quality of life. There was also a new emphasis placed on human and intellectual resources and the cultural and intellectual development of the public, which was linked to quality of life. Florida (2002) describes the increasing importance of the population in relation to the value of creativity and creative individuals for the quality of life in the city. As city marketing evolved, it became a process that revolved around attracting and keeping particular people in the city. It was about how certain people perceived, experienced and impacted the city, rather than a process that intended to reflect the city

---

<sup>5</sup> Last checked March 14, 2015.

itself. In this sense, city marketing is also a process that can be productively analyzed in terms of governmentality, or the rationality of strategic city marketing and branding.

City marketing and branding in Amsterdam was part of a strategic approach for marketing a new cultural image and identity for the city. As the city marketing and branding was visibly appearing throughout the city, there was a simultaneous discourse emerging on city marketing and branding. This discourse came forth in different forms such as policies that described how the brand could be used by brand carriers and the publication of this information for the wider public on the city's web portal (I amsterdam, n.d.a), where the brand manual could be downloaded in both Dutch and English. The iamsterdam portal also linked different aspects of local, cultural, business and tourist information with the brand. The portal was developed to offer information about upcoming events in the city as well as information for people and businesses that were interested in relocating in Amsterdam. It also promoted attractions that would appeal to visitors and presented them with modes of exploring the city with the I amsterdam card (I amsterdam, n.d.b). This card is an example of how the brand was used to promote particular aspects of the city that were designated as cultural and marketable and thus worthy of the I amsterdam brand.

Amsterdam's city marketing and branding campaign resulted from the realization that Amsterdam was losing its competitive edge to many other European cities that were successfully marketing themselves as interesting and attractive alternatives to residents, businesses and visitors (Berenschot, 2003). Furthermore, the city was facing competition from other Dutch cities, specifically The Hague, the political capital of the Netherlands, and Rotterdam, which was becoming a stronger commercial center. Overall, more and more cities in the Netherlands have introduced city marketing, and *The Netherlands City Marketing Network* fueled this development and competition through a city marketing awards scheme (Heeley, 2011, p. 137). In these respects, city marketing could be seen as a response to fiercer competition between cities, both at regional and international levels.

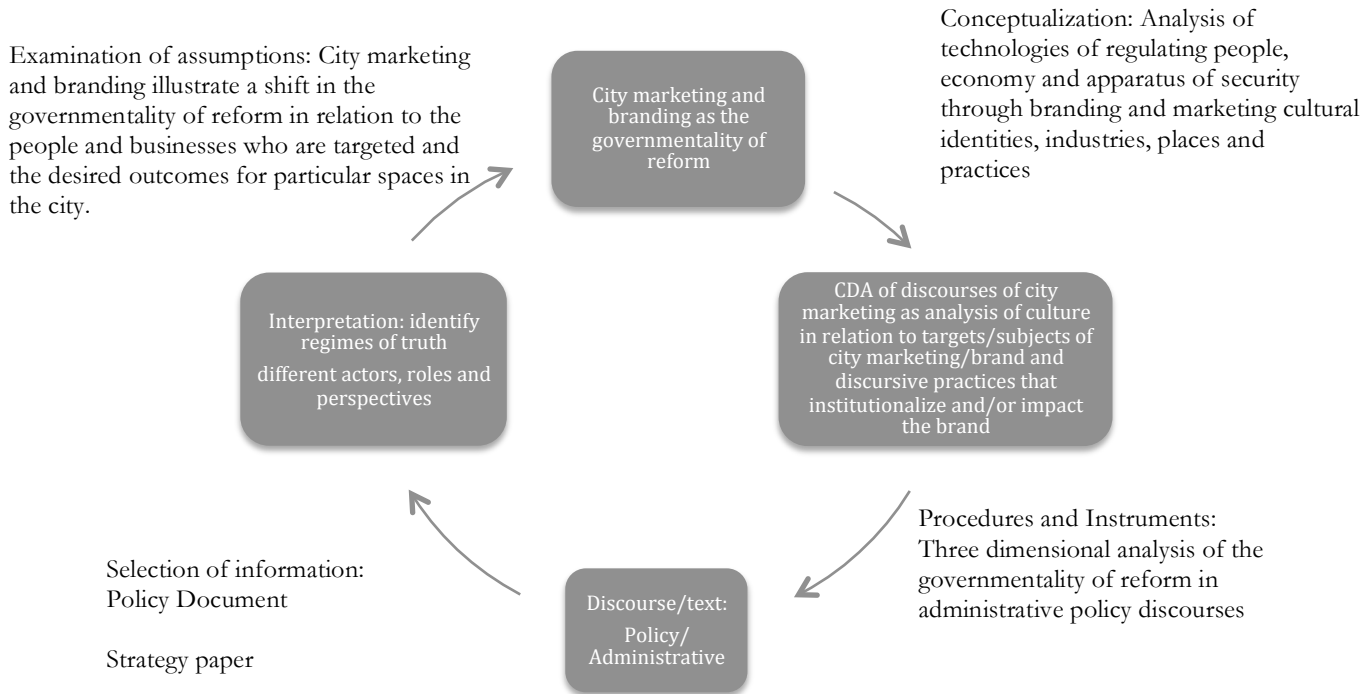
It has been suggested that a key priority of I amsterdam was to revise those elements "associated with the liberal attitude towards soft drugs and prostitution" that were considered inappropriate and poor reflections of the city's culture (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2007, p. 17). Instead of representing a city that appealed to younger tourists who were interested in smoking marijuana and visiting the Red Light District, city marketing would aim to attract a wider variety of visitors.

This is a clear example of city marketing being used to change the image of cities and this is the reason for the acceleration of the use of city branding; the increasingly popular concept of re-imaging or re-branding cities (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2007, p. 17).

In the following 2 sections, I analyze two documents that present the administrative/policy discourse on city marketing and branding. I begin with *Choosing Amsterdam* (Berenschot, 2003), the document that was commissioned by the city in 2003 and was the basis for the city's approach towards strategic city marketing and branding. I then analyze *I Amsterdam: The Making of...the City*

*Marketing of Amsterdam* (Berenschot, 2004), a policy paper that was published in October 2004, after the brand was introduced, which offers a reflection and elaboration on the city marketing agenda.

### Theoretically driven model guiding CDA




---

### 3.2 *I Amsterdam: The Development of a Strategy for Marketing and Branding Amsterdam*

---

#### **Dimensions of discourse (Overview):**

**1st Text:** The text is the document *Choosing Amsterdam: Brand, concept and organisation of the city marketing* (Berenschot, 2003).<sup>6</sup> My analysis begins at the first dimension of discourse, with my introduction to the document remaining predominantly descriptive.

---

<sup>6</sup> I have not included in depth descriptions and analyses of every section of the document. Following my initial review and consideration of the text, I have selected particular parts that are relevant to my project. These are the sections that I have identified as particularly insightful for my analysis of this discourse on city marketing and branding as a discourse of reform. Additionally, I have remained focused on the relationship between discourses of reform and the concept and content of culture that I focus on in this project.

**2<sup>nd</sup> Discoursal practices** (Production, interpretation): The document was produced by marketing consultants, Berenschot, who were hired by the City of Amsterdam. The consultants can be considered to be the speakers (or writers) of the document, and we can assume that they wrote it for the City of Amsterdam. We also know that it was produced with the intention of facilitating the development of a strategic approach for city marketing and branding. Therefore, the 2<sup>nd</sup> dimension of discourse includes the relationship between different actors that influenced the development of city marketing. The most obvious actors include the marketing consultants who produced the document and the city administrators who commissioned it. However, the text also refers to scholarship on city marketing and branding, information from focus groups and interviews with residents of the city. Following the presentation of the document to the city officials, it was also made available to the public, on the city's information portal, which was developed as part of the city marketing and branding strategy. All of the people who were consulted influenced the production of this discourse and its interpretation.

**3<sup>rd</sup> Social practice:** The text is the product of different actors and ideas, but it is also a commentary on their relationships and ongoing dialogues. These are between the consultants and the municipality (as partners working towards a particular administrative objective), the municipality and the city (i.e. the municipality, their agenda and the greater public, who are influenced and partly influencing their plans) and the City and the world. It is also a product of interactions between researchers and residents, which we can assume will lead to outcomes that are the effects of administrators' responses to these interactions. In other words, it introduces academic and local perspectives into the policy discourses, framing these as foundational to the strategic city marketing approach.

#### **Structure of Discourse (Summary):**

- The discourse is introduced in a 60 page document
- The cover presents a full-page image of a bridge, crossing a canal. On the top of the cover, we read "City of Amsterdam" next to three vertical "X"s, which are symbols of the city. The title of the document appears on the bottom left corner: "Choosing Amsterdam" in large white letters, and the subtitle "brand, concept and organization of the city marketing" is presented in smaller font.
- On the third page, the title page, text on the bottom tells readers that the survey was conducted for the City of Amsterdam by Berenschot and introduces the team of consultants.
- The index presents the contents of the text
- It begins with a 5 page summary.
- The body of the text is comprised of 5 chapters: 1) Introduction 2) Promotional organisations of Amsterdam: results, analysis, conclusions 3) The Amsterdam brand: results, analysis, conclusions 4) Translation of concept into organization 5) Decision-making and implementation
- It includes 7 appendices that span 18 pages.

The document *Choosing Amsterdam: Brand, concept and organisation of the city marketing* was commissioned as the research to direct the Amsterdam municipal council's strategic approach for



developing and implementing a city marketing and branding strategy (Berenschot, 2003). Berenschot, a marketing consultant group produced the report, so we can identify the consultants' voices within this discourse on city marketing. The document was presented to the municipal council, as a report that intended to offer guidance through outlining the organization and implementation of strategic city marketing and branding that would most effectively strengthen and promote Amsterdam's image.

The first section of the document is titled "Why city marketing and why city marketing in Amsterdam?" raising the key question that the text will answer. On the first page, it presents an overview of the reasons for city marketing and branding. These are provided along with less than one page summarizing the report's conclusions, two pages on the organization of city marketing and the promotional organizations and a final page summarizing the municipal council's decisions. The inclusion of this final section suggests that the document also contains the municipal council's perspective. From the start, it is apparent that the consultants and the municipal council have influenced this discourse, and we learn that the municipal council was the intended audience for the document when it was commissioned. It is important to recognize that it is now available to a wider audience since it is accessible on the iamsterdam portal. This is relevant for this analysis because when the document was produced, it was created for a specific group of readers, the municipal council; following the publication of the document, the document's target audience changed, when it became accessible on the internet. This relates to the second dimension of discourse since the document was produced for a specific group of readers who were supposed to interpret it in a particular way that would inform the city marketing and branding strategy for Amsterdam. After the document was used in this primary role, it served a different purpose, and it was re-produced and interpreted by different readers who visited the web portal. First, however, I will consider the text as the product of the consultants who were working for the municipal council. Additionally, I will reflect on how the document enters into a broader discourse on city marketing/branding, as it becomes part of the City's strategy for marketing Amsterdam.

The document begins with the following remarks:

Amsterdam's image across the world determines the attitude of companies, visitors and inhabitants towards the city's economic and cultural activities. In this world in which cities are starting to resemble each other ever more, offering similar basic facilities, a city needs to present itself, distinguish itself and excel...Attracting and keeping the right companies, visitors and inhabitants leads to greater economic and cultural activity (Berenschot, 2003, p. 2).

These statements describe the potential value of Amsterdam's image, and twice, the city's economic activities are linked to the city's cultural activities by reducing them within the same term "cultural and economic" activity. From this perspective, Amsterdam's image is presented as the vehicle through which city marketing and branding can improve cultural and economic activity in Amsterdam. The construction of a link between cultural and economic activities reflects the view that culture and cultural policies are tools for economic development (Bianchini, 1993). The

statements also introduce the emphasis that is placed on the global agenda and perspective of city marketing and branding. The first sentence is concerned with Amsterdam's image "across the world" and introduces the targets of this image: companies, visitors and inhabitants. The next sentence also addresses the importance of the city's image, and again, it refers to the importance of establishing this image competitively and excelling in the global arena. While this section does not explicitly refer to Amsterdam's relation to the Netherlands, it is already clear that this document will address the city in the global world. The third sentence reiterates the importance of particular target groups of city marketing, which will ideally be attracted by the city's image. It is worth noting that these groups are listed in the same order as they were before. As we will see, these three target groups are referred to throughout the document, and they are almost always listed in this order, with companies first, followed by visitors then inhabitants. In itself, this could be a matter of consistency, but it is possible that this ordering of target groups refers to the prioritization of these groups, and this is a point that I consider, as I continue to look at how this discourse constructs and engages with these target groups.

This global perspective is reiterated in the following paragraph, which presents an overview of the reasons why Amsterdam should "intensify its city marketing efforts" (Berenschot, 2003, p. 2). The initial research, conducted in 2003, compared Amsterdam with Barcelona, Berlin, Dublin and Rotterdam and showed that Amsterdam needed to strengthen its position internationally; this was especially the case, as more and more Eastern European cities were starting to compete for investors and visitors:

Amsterdam's shortcomings are explained as the result of organizational inefficiency: Nobody in Amsterdam feels they have the final responsibility for the 'Amsterdam' brand name. We need one view of the Amsterdam brand, based on an unequivocal vision... It is about a clear division of tasks and responsibilities between the municipality, support organizations involved and private parties. Intensive cooperation should lead to a stronger identity and image (Berenschot, 2003, p. 2).

From the start, a key problem that is highlighted is the lack of organization guiding the image and identity of the city. The consultants refer to a generalized "nobody" who is currently responsible for the Amsterdam brand. Since this document was originally produced for the municipal council, we can presume that this reference is directed towards the primary recipients of this document, who should understand that it is their responsibility to take ownership of the city's brand, through the construction of a clear vision of the city's brand and thus its image and identity.

On the other hand, the city is acknowledged for its inherent potential for promotion. For Amsterdam, strategic marketing and branding is strategic in the sense that it involves the selection and organization of elements of the city that are presented as "brand-carriers" such as "stories, iconography, images and people" (Berenschot, 2003, pp. 2-3) and the ways that the brand can express the key values of creativity, innovation and spirit of commerce, which are identified as important for "Amsterdam's unique position" (Berenschot, 2003, p. 3). The consultants identified

sixteen “dimensions” or “qualities” of the city and considered which were the most important for marketing the city and developing its identity locally and globally. The three dimensions that were identified as already strong were: “cultural city”, “canal city (old and new)” and “meeting place”, and the dimensions that were prioritized for intrinsic strengthening and investment were: “Business city”, “Knowledge city” and “Residential city” (Berenschot, 2003, p. 3).

The document indicates which dimensions are perceived to be Amsterdam’s strengths and which are seen as potentially beneficial for the city’s future, alongside the key values. At this point, the document does not elaborate on these dimensions, so readers are left to interpret these dimensions based on their own experiences of Amsterdam. However, in Appendixes F and G of the document, the sixteen dimensions are clarified in two spider web diagrams that elaborate on these dimensions. Appendix F is referred to as “Proposal to build the brand/basis for city marketing policy” (Berenschot, 2003). A spider web diagram illustrates how the sixteen dimensions relate to the current situation and the target picture for the city. It also provides a brief description of each dimension (*see* Appendix A, 3.2 1). Appendix G also presents a spider web diagram that illustrates a SWOT analysis of the sixteen dimensions (*see* Appendix A, 3.2 2). This diagram is based on information from interviews with residents of the city and includes information about the target image and self-image of the city. Each dimension is described in terms of its strengths, opportunities and weaknesses. Importantly, these diagrams introduce information that is useful for clarifying what the terms “cultural city” refers to in the text of the document, which remains vague and is important to this project. In Appendix F, the diagram that is the basis for city marketing policy, the three strongest dimensions in the current situation are: 1) City of canals, 2) sex, drugs and rock & roll, and 3) meeting place, the later of which are represented as equally strong. There are four equally prioritized dimensions in the target image: 1) Residential city, 2) city of knowledge, 3) artistic city, and 4) business city (Berenschot, 2003).

In contrast with Appendix F, which is the basis of city marketing, Appendix G illustrates the information obtained through the interviews with residents of the city. In this diagram, we see how people see their city (“self-image”), perceive the way that others see their city (“image”), and ideally reflect on their city (“target”). This perspective reveals that residents themselves (“self-image”) identify the strongest dimensions to be: 1) Hub function, 2) meeting place, and 3) city of canals; however, they believe that others see the following dimensions as the strongest: 1) City of canals, 2) sex, drugs, R&R (rock and roll), and 3) night life. Residents express their desires for the target image of the city to prioritize: 1) Meeting place, 2) hub function, 3) artistic city, and 4) city of canals. From this perspective, it is clear that the self-image of the residents and the target image are extremely close. The residents’ views suggest that they want city marketing and branding to impact the way that others perceive the city. For residents, city marketing and branding should be about promoting the city in a way that more adequately reflects how they perceive and experience the city, its image and its identity. However, when we compare the targets of these two diagrams, they do not coincide, and it

is clear that the proposal for building the brand does not prioritize the input of the residents, for whom residential city and city of knowledge were less important than most of the other priorities.

In spite of the fact that the residents were consulted in research for the document, the consultants are clear about the fact that it is the municipal council that directs city marketing: “Due to its public responsibility it is the City of Amsterdam that formulates the brand vision, lays down the brand, verifies policy implementation and evaluates the brand” (Berenschot, 2003, p. 3).

Berenschot proposed that Amsterdam established a platform of public and private organizations to advise the municipality on city marketing policies. It is explained that the Partners of Amsterdam “have a clear cut development function” in strengthening and supporting the municipality: “Wherever possible and wherever this may strengthen the Amsterdam brand, the Partners of Amsterdam will manage organisations focusing on specific products and certain target groups” (Berenschot, 2003, p. 4). Different people will be targeted by city marketing, depending on the intentions of the policies and projects that are carried out by the partners; these will include investors/businesses, visitors and residents who will enhance the image of Amsterdam in accordance with the key values and prioritized dimensions and the ways that the partners can engage with the target groups.

The second chapter of the document presents “Promotional organisations of Amsterdam: results, analysis, conclusions”. This chapter begins with a short section on the “Basic principle for organisation research”, with the singular term “principle” referring to the important point: “City marketing is not a democratic process, nor a centrally guided system”. This is explained further, as city marketing is described in the following terms:

A combination of many active actors working on various chessboards operating to a great extent independently in their different fields of expertise and networks...The important thing is that all actors operate from one common basis using the same toolkit when it comes to the Amsterdam brand. Only the critical elements to this should be arranged at central level (Berenschot, 2003, p. 9).

On the one hand, it is clear that different people are independently contributing and collaborating in city marketing. However, the third sentence introduces the “important thing” that everyone uses the same tools for the same purposes, or plays the same game according to the same rules. In other words, it does not matter what the different chess games look like or how the different actors plan their moves, as long as they play by the rules. In what follows, it seems that the focus turns towards the way that the City can control “the field” so that the various actors will identify as agents or be perceived as active participants in the processes that are deemed desirable, according to the City’s agenda:

The city should not endeavour to control the entire field, but rather steer a restricted number of specific issues associated with the brand. The municipality will also clearly allocate tasks and responsibilities, and encourage and stimulate new issues and areas which have been neglected by the field. Field organisations should have the possibility to take the initiative, however they must know

beyond doubt where the municipality is heading and they must also be familiar with the rules of the game (Berenschot, 2003, p. 9).

Even though the partners have been selected due to their industries or areas of expertise, the municipal council overtly directs and oversees strategic marketing and branding so that the brand becomes a technology of the governmentality of reform.

The research conceptualized city marketing as occurring within a field, and it situates different actors and organizations within a field of operations. Within this field, the intention of the research was to present an overview of the field of city marketing within Amsterdam and to provide recommendations for how the City could strengthen its organizational field and its image through marketing. The section that introduces the topic “Results” briefly describes the intentions of the research and where the data came from. It is stated that the aim was :“To develop a picture of the total field, to come up with recommendations to strengthen Amsterdam’s city marketing organisation”. The sources of data are described as “more than twenty interviews with representatives from the promotional sector and the official residence discussion on 24 March 2003”, and the outcomes are presented in relation to “four dominant themes: “the passion of ‘Amsterdammers’ (people of Amsterdam) for their city, the Amsterdam ‘social midfield’, vision and direction and finally bottlenecks in the functioning of the organisation”(Berenschot, 2003, p. 9). In a footnote, the “social midfield” is explained:

Social midfield or midfield, a typically Dutch term referring to that broad grouping of interests and organisations linking the business and political environment and people, thus including such bodies as chambers of commerce, representative organisations, branch associations and support groups (Berenschot, 2003, p. 9).

The first theme that is discussed is “The passion of ‘Amsterdammers’”, with Amsterdammers defined as the “people of Amsterdam”. It is not clear if this group refers to all of the inhabitants of the city or if it includes the targeted (potential) groups of visitors or residents who are main priorities of city marketing.

The section begins with a discussion about the role of Amsterdam’s promotional organizations, and the assertion that these “grew from a passion for a certain product or the need to better sell a certain product” (Berenschot, 2003, p. 10). The document states that each organization “serves specific target groups and knows how to reach their hearts as they operate close to content”. It continues, “they use Amsterdam because the City has a strong position in the world and because it has advantages when it comes to selling their own products” (Berenschot, 2003, p. 10). The section on Amsterdammers first presents the organizations that are supposed to construct ideas, images and products of and from the city for these people and for the rest of the world.

When discussing the sentiments of the people of Amsterdam, we read that the research reveals, “The character of Amsterdammers is said to lend itself poorly for common city marketing. The people of Amsterdam are self-willed and creative and do not wish to be guided” (Berenschot,

2003, p. 10). On the other hand, we read that there was also a great deal of willingness to collaborate in the marketing of the city (Berenschot, 2003, p. 10). In this discussion, Amsterdammers are not ideal targets of city marketing, but it is suggested that they support the initiative. They are also described as creative and independent, and these are ways that they contribute to the city's identity through their own identities. The passion of Amsterdammers is identified as a theme in this text because it is important for the image and identity of the city.

"The Amsterdam midfield" is presented in greater detail to explain that marketing and promotion are embedded in the "finely-woven 'social midfield'" (Berenschot, 2003, p. 10). The midfield is described as the "interface" between the "local businesses and city marketing". Here, the midfield is represented as the necessary link between city marketing and the everyday social life of the city. However, structural and organizational problems with the midfield are introduced and elaborated in a sub-section titled "Criticising each other", where the transient organizational structures and networks of both the municipality and the midfield are described as "one of Amsterdam's typical cultural aspects" (Berenschot, 2003, p. 11).

Whereas organizations blame the municipality for insufficient funding, the municipality is critical of the projects that are submitted. Both lines of critique have an impact on how the municipality and the organizations are perceived. It is also pointed out that there is a weak link between top companies and top entrepreneurs and the city of Amsterdam. This goes both ways, as companies seem unwilling to commit to Amsterdam and "entrepreneurs are not acknowledged for their contributions to the city". The consultants state, "We have the impression that the international business network is used insufficiently for the sake of Amsterdam, despite its enormous power and potential" (Berenschot, 2003, p. 11). The document is attempting to point out Amsterdam's shortcomings, while it is highlighting the city's potential. The overarching point is that the city is already positioned to achieve more, but it is not seizing existing opportunities. These relate to internal organization and a failure to maximize the city's international outreach. Here, the document reiterates that internal cohesion and a broader outlook can offer benefits for the city.

The following section on "Fragmentation" returns to the idea that the City struggles with organizational coherence at the municipal and institutional levels. This comes through clearly in the section "Vision and direction":

Interviewees confirmed unanimously that the municipality of Amsterdam lacks a vision on city marketing, a vision on the Amsterdam brand and related policy... We believe the municipality is not making clear its target... The interviewees are unanimously positive about the fact that the Municipal council will come up with a vision and give impulse to the Amsterdam brand (Berenschot, 2003, p. 11).

Twice, the response from the interviewees is referred to as unanimous to emphasize the conclusive findings about the situation that needs to be addressed and the way that it should be handled. First they agreed with the consultants that the municipality did not have a clear vision for strategic

marketing and branding. Then, they expressed their confidence in the municipality to develop and implement a brand. This second view also conveys the interviewees' desire for a brand with a unified vision, in spite of the prior characterization of the independent, strong-willed Amsterdammer who might resist this kind of vision. The suggestion of a unanimous response strengthens the perspective that is implicit in the document, and we learn that the interviews took place with representatives from particular organizations. Thus, while it is acknowledged that the information is partial and the overview of the information from the organizations is "incomplete and unbalanced", it becomes problematic when it is also described as intended to "create a picture of the entire field and to identify all possibilities of improvement" (Berenschot, 2003, p. 12). It is clear that these statements are somewhat contradictory.

The institutions that are introduced as key actors in the organizational field are those which:

Provided specific promotional objectives and receive substantial subsidy from the municipality. It should be clear that many organisations are public-private joint ventures; their scopes are often beyond the municipal boundaries and they often operate at regional level. The municipality of Amsterdam is thus one of their business partners (Berenschot, 2003, p. 12).

These include: Amsterdam Promotions (AmPro), Amsterdam Tourist Board (ATB), Amsterdam Congress Bureau (ACB), Amsterdam Uit Bureau (AUB), Amports, Amsterdam Cruiseport, Amsterdam Airport Area (AAA), ARCAM, Topsport Amsterdam and Knowledge Foundation Amsterdam (Berenschot, 2003, pp. 12-14). When we look at the partners of the City, there is a clear trend that is noted in the document. The organizations were selected for their reach beyond the city. They are not directed inward towards the local population, but instead, they were selected for the ways that they can promote the city and target other audiences. The partners include organizations in the tourism, leisure and promotional industries, and they also include organizations that operate in the cultural and creative industries.

The research that is presented is framed as foundational to improvements in the organization of city marketing. An important part of this is accounting for aspects of the city and the city's image that will be improved. From the previous sections, the document has clearly explained that Amsterdam lacks important organization and direction that will enable productive city marketing. The section titled "Sixteen dimensions and representation" offers a more situated perspective on how city marketing can function within Amsterdam. Specifically, it addresses how it can improve the image of the city. The section begins with the following statement:

A large number of parties contribute to Amsterdam's image on the basis of communication or lack thereof. The police have a major role when it comes to Amsterdam's image as a liveable city; campaigns influence the feelings of inhabitants and visitors, press releases may sometimes travel around the world and confirm unintentionally the ideas about Amsterdam as the city where everything is possible (Berenschot, 2003, p. 14).

In this section, there is a clear shift of focus to some other “large number” of sources that also influence Amsterdam’s image. Of these, the police and the media are referred to specifically. The police are directly associated with Amsterdam’s image as a livable city, while the media is linked to the city’s global image. The underlying message is that the images that are expressed in relation to these parties are not positive, and existing organizations will have to contribute to city marketing to improve the city’s image in relation to designated dimensions of the city that will appeal to particular target groups:

The organic growth of the promotional sector has caused disproportionate attention for those dimensions which together create Amsterdam’s image. Consequently various target groups remain ignored and Amsterdam misses out on opportunities. Amsterdam should invest in this, depending on the spearhead priorities (Berenschot, 2003, p. 14).

When the research turns to present a plan for action, this is described in relation to the target groups that were identified earlier, companies, visitors and inhabitants, old and new. It is suggested:

On defining and positioning the Amsterdam brand, the experiences and images of the target groups should weigh heavier than municipal boundaries or other institutional barriers (Berenschot, 2003, p. 18).

This approach to city marketing and branding frames the current context within a discourse of ideals and strategic development for the benefit of the city’s future. It also coincides with my analysis of the divergent spider web diagrams in Appendixes F and G, which prioritized the policy/administrative perspective over the residents’ ideals for the city. It suggests that the municipal council should decide how to represent and promote the brand based on who they want to identify with it, and this should be the basis of the construction of the ideal/target image and identity of the city. It is less important to consider how current residents identify with and idealize the city since they are not necessarily the primary targets of city marketing and branding. While the document acknowledges that marketing is about current users as well as future users of the city, the final sentence suggests that in order to develop a successful brand, the main focus should remain on the target groups, regardless of their associations with the city.

The strategic approach for city marketing and branding prioritized the image and identity of Amsterdam that coincided with the Amsterdam brand in a global context. This assertion is supported by Appendix A, which introduces the “research framework” for this document. Here, the text presents the scholarly perspectives on city marketing that informed the text:

In all definitions two things attract attention: first of all the fact that all urban actors should present themselves as a whole to the outside world and secondly the fact that activities within the scope of city marketing should meet the municipality’s strategy.  
A third definition from the literature consulted is the necessary balance between a city’s identity and image...The image determines at large the choices of the city’s potential users. The heart of both the identity and the image present the city’s personality, or rather its character. The overall picture of



people, history and economic, social and cultural facilities determines the personality and expresses itself through behaviour, symbolism and communication.

The fourth basic principle is the fact that the phrasing and depiction of a city's brand hides a certain ambition which describes the path from self-image to the target image. Amsterdam needs to invest in this target image to be able to preset it as the future's image (Berenschot, 2003, p. 2 Appendix A).

Here, we can see that the document is based on the views that city marketing must present the city coherently and collectively, and the brand is a tool to convey the ideals of the reforms and embody the vision of the city for the future. The strategies and implementation of city marketing and the emergence of the I Amsterdam brand direct my research to an important point of analytical inquiry for this project: city branding presents an example of the intentional reconstruction of cultural materials for the purposes of cultural reforms. This is where the distinctions between cultural images and ideas on the one hand, and cultural identities on the other hand, become critical to the discourse that is intentionally processing culture as a strategy for enhancing the quality of the city. This distinction directly relates to the question that is central to this project that asks about the relationship between the culture of cultural policies and the culture of the image and identity of the city.

It is already apparent that this policy/administrative discourse is presenting a discourse of reform that implies a distinction between its identity as its self-image and the ideal image and identity for the city. Furthermore, the City's decision to use strategic city marketing as a method for cultural reform suggests that its aims are directed towards the reform through attracting (target) audiences- or consumers- of this brand. While the ideas that are introduced in the Appendix are implied throughout the document, they become explicit in this addendum. Furthermore, readers who pay attention to the text in this Appendix see that the ideas that are presented are the scholarly perspectives that direct both the consultants and subsequently the City's approach towards the governmentality of reform through city marketing and branding.

In the third chapter, "The Amsterdam brand: results, analysis, conclusions", it is explained that sixteen dimensions of the city were conceptualized, and these are described as "typifying Amsterdam's profile" (Berenschot, 2003, p. 18). The research is based on information from different target groups, the emerging scholarship on city marketing, interviews about Amsterdam and a residence discussion, various documents, media and publications that address the city, and a resident questionnaire given out by the municipality (Berenschot, 2003, p. 18).

It is suggested that the sixteen dimensions convey Amsterdam's versatility and distinguish it from other cities. Furthermore, it is suggested that certain dimensions should be prioritized, based on the city's existing strengths, and these should be promoted; other priorities are designated as areas for investment and strengthening based on the potential value that they can offer in the future.

Again, the key values of creativity, innovation and spirit of commerce are reiterated, and they are described as the bases of Amsterdam's unique position (Berenschot, 2003, p. 19). However, these core values or why they were chosen are not explained. Instead, we again receive instructions for

how to link the brand to Amsterdam's values, so the brand and elements of the city reinforce each other:

These key values are connected to stories, symbols, images, people to 'load' the terms with brand carriers: that is how the terms will live, that is how they will be able to transfer and that is how many statements will contribute to properly presenting the Amsterdam brand to the world (Berenschot, 2003, p. 19).

The statement above suggests that these values are associated with the city in particular ways, through stories, symbols, etc., and this is how the brand will gain significance in association with the values. However, this document itself exemplifies how the discourse of city marketing and branding constructs these values as significant and meaningful in relation to the image and identity of the city. This begins with the introduction of these concepts as core values of the city, and it continues throughout the document, which reiterates how these concepts are significant in relation to the image and identity of Amsterdam and how they will be cornerstones of city marketing and branding. For example, these values can be linked to the prioritized dimensions of the marketing agenda, with creativity and innovation clearly linked to the idea of the knowledge city, and spirit of commerce, as well as the other two, which are directly linked to the business city. The links between these values and the prioritized dimensions correspond with scholarship that emphasizes the value of creativity in cities, which has increasingly been linked to the quality of life of cities (e.g. Landry & Bianchini, 1995; Florida, 2002; Trip, 2007).

Whereas the first section of this chapter is presented as the conceptual element of Amsterdam's image, the second section discusses a more empirical side of the research that is presented as foundational to the strategic side of city marketing. However, there is still an emphasis on the key values and the priority dimensions. Statistics offer information about how Amsterdam ranks in terms of "quality of life", tourism, conferences and perceptions of 'city makers', which include art institutions, transport and trade companies, media institutions, governments, multinationals and financial institutions (Berenschot, 2003, p. 20). The next section, "Analysis: strengths, weaknesses and opportunities" explains how the priority dimensions and key values were selected from all of the dimensions that were identified. This included a process in which strengths, weaknesses and opportunities of each dimension were considered, and "international trend studies and research provide[d] the decisive answer" (Berenschot, 2003, p. 21). Amsterdam's approach to city marketing frames the city's image and identity- and its culture- within a discourse of ideals and strategic development for the benefit of the city's (economic) future.

In the section on strengths, Amsterdam is described as a versatile city that is beneficial to businesses and potential residents, as well as tourists who can all find cultural and economic reasons for choosing to go to Amsterdam. For example, it presents low business start up costs, a high quality of education and a diverse, multi-lingual work force, along with wide ranging cultural attractions and

activities. In this section, there is a clear emphasis on the way that Amsterdam can improve its image as a business city, through promoting itself in relation to this dimension.

When the city's weaknesses are described, its versatility is presented as problematic. Here, the focus is on how Amsterdam can improve its reputation as a residential city, through investing in its historic neighborhoods and services that facilitate hospitality and accessibility. It is also suggested that it has become too tolerant, which is resulting in a decline in the city's style and retail picture (Berenschot, 2003, p. 22).

In the section on opportunities, the document presents additional suggestions for the future. Again, these reiterate the values of creativity, innovation and spirit of commerce:

Amsterdam's historic monumental places are icons of creativity, innovation and spirit of commerce of the city throughout the centuries. The icons allow the city to meet today's opportunities. Old and new can be combined proudly and daringly, without harming the old and without making concessions to the new (Berenschot, 2003, p. 22).

And:

Art and spirit of trade for example find each other in the creative industry: design, fashion, dance, photography, television and multimedia (Berenschot, 2003, p. 23).

These are examples of how creativity becomes a conceptual tool for linking culture with economics through the creative industry.

When the document turns to offer conclusions and recommendations about the brand and its carriers, it returns to the importance of the key values of creativity, innovation and spirit of commerce. It is suggested that people are productive symbols for loading the brand with meaning, so it is important to associate the brand with people who personify the key values: "it could be artists, philosophers, sportsmen, architects, businessmen or politicians" (Berenschot, 2003, p. 25). Again, it is clear that the values are not derived from the local, everyday life of the city and its inhabitants, but they are imposed upon the city through a targeted city marketing and branding agenda. This does not mean that these values are not *a priori* relevant and meaningful for individuals in the city. It is to say that the discourse on city marketing and branding impacts how different people experience and interpret their significance in relation to the image and identity of the city.

In the following section, I introduce a second document on city marketing in Amsterdam. It was published after the brand was implemented, so it offers a perspective that is reflexive and progressive in terms of the City's strategic approach. While there are many points of convergence between the texts, the second text places a pronounced emphasis on the target groups and organizations that are central to the city marketing process. It is also the outcome of the collaboration between the City and the city marketing consultants, so it offers insight into how the Amsterdam brand evolved as a result of the consultants' contribution to the administrative/policy discourse on city marketing and branding. Thus, in the following section, it becomes clearer how

strategic city marketing links cultural content/images with cultural identities and industries in practice in Amsterdam, and how these links are established through this discourse of reform.

---

### 3.3 *I Amsterdam: The Making of...the City Marketing of Amsterdam*

---

#### **Dimensions of discourse (Overview):**

**1st Text:** The text is the document *I Amsterdam: The Making of...the City Marketing of Amsterdam* (Berenschot, 2004).<sup>7</sup> My analysis begins at the first dimension of discourse, with my introduction to the document remaining predominantly descriptive.

**2nd Discoursal practices** (Production, interpretation): This publication is the result of a collaboration between the City of Amsterdam, which published the document, Berenschot (the consultants who produced *Choosing Amsterdam*), who wrote the Dutch text, the English text company, which provided the English translation that is also presented alongside the original Dutch text and designers and printers who contributed to the final product. The document is comprised of Dutch and English versions of text, and the credits on the final page allude to the fact that it was translated from Dutch to English. The credits also inform readers that Berenschot produced the text in this document. As a document on the “making” of city marketing that was produced during the process of city marketing, the document itself becomes a discursive practice and intervention in the context- Amsterdam- that it describes and intends to impact.

**3rd Social practice:** The text is presented from the perspective of the City of Amsterdam, but it expresses the voice of marketing and branding consultants. It speaks reflexively and proactively about what has been done and what needs to be done. It also introduces the element of language, through side-by-side English and Dutch texts. This presents the different audiences who can access the text and who are implied (intended) readers of the text. These actors are implied by the text, and they are explicitly introduced in the document through the perspective of city marketing and in terms of their (current or potential) situations and their roles (particularly socio-cultural and economic) in the city.

#### **Structure of the Discourse (Summary):**

- The discourse is introduced in a text that is presented in English and Dutch, with the languages displayed in juxtaposition. This conveys that it is directed towards local Dutch and international (English speaking) audiences.

---

<sup>7</sup> I have not included an in depth analysis of every section. In certain cases, I have referred to relevant material that was repeated in the prior document and discussed in section 3.2. Following my initial analysis of the text, I have included information that enhances my prior analysis from this case study and contributes to my analysis of culture in terms of the policy/administrative discourse of reform.

- The cover of the document contains only the title “The Making of...the city marketing of Amsterdam”, with the Dutch text below.
- The contents page presents an overview of what is included, with the Dutch text displayed first and the English text next. The Dutch chapter headings are written in red, with sub-sections in black, while all of the English titles are written in gray.
- The text begins with a Forward by Frits Huffnagel, Alderman of Economic Affairs of the City of Amsterdam from January 2004-May 2005 and Vice Chairman of Amsterdam Partners.
- The forward is followed by six chapters and 3 appendices: 1) Introduction, 2) “The marketing concept”, 3) “Towards a new organisation for city marketing”, 4) “City marketing and policy”, 5) “A Slogan for Amsterdam”, 6) “Continued”.

*The Making of...the city marketing of Amsterdam* was published in October 2004, after the “I amsterdam” brand was introduced into the city. Thus, it both reflects on the development and implementation of the brand and offers thoughts for the future. In many ways, the information in this document is comparable to *Choosing Amsterdam*, and it includes a large amount of the same information that is contained in the earlier document, which I introduced in the previous section. On the other hand, it is distinct in important ways. It is not explicitly presented from the perspective of consultants. This is clear from the first section, which introduces the voice of an Amsterdammer, Frits Huffnagel<sup>8</sup>, who was Alderman of Economic Affairs and Vice Chairman of Amsterdam Partners at the time the document was published. It was also not produced primarily for the municipal council, which is explicit from the beginning, when Huffnagel begins by inviting readers to join him in claiming “I Amsterdam”. In contrast with the prior document, which was written by consultants and primarily intended as an advisory text for readers involved in the City’s administrative and policy making agendas, this publication is intended as an informative document for a more general audience. This document is also important for this project because it offers information about how one administrative/policy document informs another. This is based on the fact that a lot of the information that is presented in this later document follows from the advice offered in *Choosing Amsterdam*.

The document begins with a Forward by Frits Huffnagel, who introduces the text with the following explanatory statement:

This spring I was visiting New York; the city which perhaps gave birth to city marketing at the end of the 1970s...Deputy Mayor Dan Doctorov, when he was appointed together [sic] with Mayor Bloomberg, impressed me by commenting on the fact that New York was once 18<sup>th</sup> on various rankings, “New York shouldn’t be 18<sup>th</sup> on any list. Either top or bottom, but not 18<sup>th</sup>.” This is my ambition for Amsterdam (Berenschot, 2004, p. 6).

---

<sup>8</sup> Huffnagel succeeded Geert Dales as Alderman of Economic Affairs in January 2004, where he held the position until May 2005. He is widely regarded as the person who is responsible for introducing city marketing in Amsterdam.

He continues to explain that Geert Dales, the previous Alderman of Economic Affairs who commissioned *Choosing Amsterdam* (Berenschot, 2003), initiated the city marketing agenda in Amsterdam in 2002, after recognizing that Amsterdam's position was dropping on various ranking lists. Again, this document refers to city marketing as a strategy that is based on Amsterdam's position in a global context. Between 2003 and 2004, the process that he refers to as "The making of the city marketing of Amsterdam" gained momentum (Berenschot, 2004, p. 6). He explains why there was a growing need for a new image for Amsterdam:

The most important success factor is that many in the Amsterdam area- companies, city authorities, regional municipalities, and the organisations responsible for marketing- have collectively seen that both the world and Amsterdam's economic structure have changed (Berenschot, 2004, p. 6).

This perspective clarifies that the main reasons driving city marketing are economic. He explains that it was determined that Amsterdam's versatility could be expressed through three key terms: "creativity", "innovation", and "spirit of commerce". It is worth reiterating that these qualities have historical roots, dating back to the Dutch Golden Age in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the city was an international trading port. Not only were these historically and culturally rich attributes described as "qualities in the heart of the people of Amsterdam, that we would like to show to the world", but they are also qualities that were intended "to drive city policy" (Berenschot, 2004, p. 6). In this statement, a link is drawn between the identity of Amsterdammers and the city *and* the current globally focused ideals and intentions of the policies and reforms. Thus, it is important to consider how the city's image and identity influenced the policies, on the one hand, and how policy makers and other administrative actors or other institutional forces entered into the policy agenda. It is also important to consider how the policies and reforms accounted for the historical and cultural aspects of the qualities that are referred to in the quote above.

In this document, it was apparent how city marketing was directed towards specific groups of consumers of the city's revised image and identity, which include "desired companies, visitors and residents" (Berenschot, 2004, p. 14) that will benefit the city. These target groups are important elements of the policy and critical for its analysis. Moreover, how they are introduced in city marketing and policy discourse is interesting and insightful. As I noted in my prior analysis, these three groups are repeatedly introduced, and they are presented multiple times throughout this document as well; and, when spoken of together, they are often referred to in the same order. In the few instances when they are re-configured, it is worth noting that only the first two terms are changed, while residents/inhabitants are mentioned last. In the previous section, I noted that the marketing agenda prioritized an ideal image and identity of the city that was distinct from the target image that resulted from research conducted among Amsterdam's residents. This document offers more information about the way that different groups of people enter into strategic city marketing in a specific section in the second chapter of the document that addresses "Target groups". I analyze this in depth in order to assess my primary presumption about how different groups of people enter

into the discourse of city marketing. Furthermore, in *Choosing Amsterdam*, it was suggested that people should give meaning to the key values and become brand carriers for the city, which justifies my focus on the people who are targets of city marketing.

The second chapter addresses the creation of the City's approach to marketing and the development of 'I amsterdam': "We choose to highlight the strong dimensions of Amsterdam (the performance) on the one hand and name the key values of the city (its personality) on the other hand" (Berenschot, 2004, p. 15). This introduction already distinguishes between Amsterdam's strong dimensions and key values for the city through the concepts of "the performance" and "its personality". Whereas performance is associated with certain strong dimensions that are considered positive attributes of the city and are deemed culturally and economically valuable, its personality is defined by key values that are central to the reforms, such as creativity, innovation and spirit of commerce. Thus, performance signifies cultural qualities that will be maintained because they are considered strong, so they can be considered constants. Personality refers to key values that are prioritized by the marketing strategy and imply ideals for the future, thus signifying variables, even if these attributes also are associated with Amsterdam's historical and cultural identity. Thus, it is possible that the aim is to reform these aspects of the city's personality through city marketing, while retaining their significance for the city's cultural image and identity.

The document offers a degree of elaboration on the strategic conceptualization of Amsterdam's image and identity in the section that is titled "Creating the concept". This begins with an introduction to the approach that was taken in the development of a vision for city marketing and a policy for its implementation. The information here is similar to what is presented in *Choosing Amsterdam*, beginning with the idea that a key strength of the city is its versatility. From here, the same sixteen dimensions of the city are introduced, along with a spider web diagram that accompanies an analysis of strengths, weaknesses and opportunities (Berenschot, 2004, p. 16) (which is similar to the SWOT analysis presented by Berenschot), (Berenschot, 2003, Appendix G, *see* Appendix A, 3.2.1 in this document).

Amsterdam's strengths are again introduced through the idea of the city's versatility, which enables city marketing to operationalize certain qualities of the city to impact the local population and trigger desired responses from target audiences. These target groups include tourists, but perhaps more importantly, they also include people who might be viewed as potential residents, investors or entrepreneurs who will be attracted to Amsterdam's image. These target groups will be drawn to the potential of the city, and they will also contribute to its strategic reform, through their shared adherence to the key values of the city, which are foundational to the city marketing and branding agenda.

On the other hand, Amsterdam's versatility is again associated with the city's weaknesses and its failure to succeed in promoting itself efficiently in important ways. Again, tolerance and freedom are linked to the city's style, but it is implied that reform is important in order to ensure that this style

does not lose its value through associations with cheap retail establishments. These are introduced as potential threats to the city's authentic style, which should be associated with quality.

The document reiterates Amsterdam's opportunities in relation to "the progressive city", which is considered both the product of Amsterdam's history and symbolic of its current identification as a modern city. The city's history provides continuity with the priorities that have been selected as focal points for the current marketing of the image and identity of the city: creativity, innovation and spirit of commerce. The suggestion that they are both historically rooted and aspects of the progressive city of the future intends to convey the positive combination of the "Old and New" (Berenschot, 2004, p. 18), and the relationship between culture and economy in the progressive city.

This continues with a clarification of the relationship between the social and economic development of the city. This relates to three of the six dimensions that were selected as focal points of policy and reform, following the analysis of strengths, weaknesses and opportunities. Three were designated as "already strong/benefit from", which include *Cultural city*, *Canal city (old and new)*, *Meeting place*, and three were prioritized to "strengthen, invest and benefit from later on", which include *Business city*, *Knowledge* and *Residential city* (Berenschot, 2004, p. 17). As we will see, a focus has been placed on the latter three dimensions, and as I discuss below, this becomes particularly apparent when the discussion turns to focus on the roles of individuals and groups, or the "target groups" of city marketing.

In the next section, we see how the idea of the city's identity relates to ideals for the city's users in terms of how different groups of people were presented in the document. In the section on target groups, we learn more about who the City deems valuable as potential targets of its marketing. The section begins with the broad statement: "the target groups for city marketing are very general in the first instance: companies, visitors and inhabitants" (Berenschot, 2004, p. 20). These include "both existing and potential, and both national and international" subjects (Berenschot, 2004, p. 20). When the development of a policy framework is presented, based on this general understanding of target groups, it is acknowledged that the different groups "look towards Amsterdam from their own perspectives" (Berenschot, 2004, p. 20). This raises a critical point: the document specifically states that the policy framework was developed by analyzing "what other segmentation would be relevant for Amsterdam" based on three questions that related to the general target groups (Berenschot, 2004, p. 20). Before even considering the questions, which I introduce below, it is immediately important to highlight the term "segmentation", here referring to the classification of different people as targets of city marketing; furthermore, it implies that other forms of categorization will be used to designate individuals or groups from the broader, general target groups.

The three questions that were asked to elaborate on the general target groups were the following:



Which of the target groups provide the greatest return in the form of visitor and purchasing behaviour?  
 Which of the target groups has the closest 'mental' relationship with Amsterdam at the moment (Amsterdam already has lots to offer in the minds of these target groups)?  
 Which of the target groups need each other and together strengthen the market position of Amsterdam (for example, workers in the knowledge sector need innovative companies); in other words, which of the target groups are interested as both consumers and as co-producers (Berenschot, 2004, pp. 20-21)?

All of these questions link the identity of the target groups to the image and identity of the city. The first and third questions are explicitly related to economic activity and how city marketing can act as a potential driving force. While the first question constructs visitors and actions (purchasing) as economically beneficial, the third question focuses on productive relationships both between the groups and within economic relations and activities (i.e. identities and industries). On the other hand, the second question addresses a different issue: the image and identity of the city. It relates to the idea, referred to in the introduction of this section, that the target groups see Amsterdam from different perspectives; it also implies that some perspectives offer more value and should be more significant to city marketing. From these three questions, seven target groups were explicated as the primary target groups for Amsterdam's city marketing. While I will not explain all of these in detail, I briefly consider how they were presented in the document. As part of this discourse, I will suggest that this list offers another example of how situations and perspectives are prioritized in terms of the people who are influenced and influential in the context of policy and reform:

1. Business decision-makers of international enterprises with their head offices in the Amsterdam area, using it as their virtual Gateway to Europe
2. Logistics service providers
3. Creative sector
4. Knowledge workers
5. Active city dwellers
6. International visitors
7. The current inhabitants of Amsterdam and surroundings as ambassadors for the city

The list itself again introduces the categories of businesses, visitors and residents, but these categories are broken down into more specific target groups. Nevertheless, we can see that the same order is maintained insofar as the list begins with international businesses, creative workers are in the middle, and international visitors are towards the end, before the final group, current inhabitants. The next page of the document presents a circular diagram that illustrates "the seven target groups around one centre of gravity", where this center is defined as "Creative, innovative, entrepreneurial, talented people of Amsterdam" (Berenschot, 2004, p. 22). This diagram highlights the key qualities that city marketing intends to promote. It also reiterates the link between the key values and the personality of the city, which is now associated with potential actors. In other words, it constructs a link between the personality of the city and the personalities of the target groups, or the identities of Amsterdam and its potential users, through the key values.

If we begin with the order of the target groups, it is clear that broader economic activity is first, with the list beginning with two groups that are predominantly valued for their economic and business-oriented value. The third and fourth groups are also clearly related to each other, as knowledge workers have an explicit role in the creative sector, which is defined as:

Design companies in the media, content producers, designers, ICT, fashion, production and business service providers, usually existing in mid-size and small enterprises and often led by young Dutch entrepreneurs (Berenschot, 2004, p. 20).

However, the description of knowledge workers offers more information than is provided for the previous categories, perhaps because the descriptions have turned to groups of individuals who are designated as productive targets of city marketing for the ways that they are beneficial to the city. Thus, in the descriptions, we do not only read about these groups, but we also learn how these groups can contribute to the ideals of the reforms. For example, knowledge workers are described as, “usually young creatives and scientists who feel attracted to the knowledge and business climate and by the quality of life” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 20). Here we can see how the prioritization of this target group relates to Florida’s (2002) view of the creative class, who contribute to the economy through their creativity and “is strongly oriented to large cities and regions that offer a variety of economic opportunities, a stimulating environment and amenities for every possible lifestyle” (p. 11). The document explains:

It is important for Amsterdam as a creative location and city of knowledge that the creative people live in the city. Also that a climate of tolerance and openness prevails, that there are broad cultural facilities and that there are different sorts of meeting places...Attracting and keeping talented people to Amsterdam is important, because the presence of talent is a condition for many companies (Berenschot, 2004, p. 21).

The description above emphasizes the importance of creativity for the quality of life in the city, and creativity is understood in a way that is comparable to Florida’s definition, which prioritizes tolerance and talent, as well as technology, which he refers to as the 3Ts of the creative city (Florida, 2002). Additionally, we can see how creativity is linked to the first two groups, through the association that is made between this group and the broader “knowledge sector and business climate” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 21).

The last three groups are also introduced with specific descriptive information, even though this is not as detailed. This is particularly the case for the fifth and seventh target groups; they are especially interesting when considered together. These are “active city dwellers” and “the current inhabitants of Amsterdam and surroundings as ambassadors for the city” (Berenschot, 2004, pp. 21-22). From the categorizations of these groups, the term “active” appears to be the key differentiating term, which distinguishes those targets that “dwell” in the city, from others who “inhabit” it. Active city dwellers include:

Residents attracted by the facilities and atmosphere of big-city Amsterdam (attracting active city dwellers and uniting them). This includes groups such as empty nesters (households from which the children have left and who want to return to Amsterdam), two-income couples, homosexual couples, young professionals and students (Berenschot, 2004, pp. 21-2).

It is worth noting the specificity used in describing these groups of residents within the population. They are seen as beneficial for their contributions, and these are explicitly considered in relation to the city's future:

In the long term (about 2020) it is expected that there will be a decline in working people due to the aging of the population at large. The city and its surrounding area must therefore be able to effectively attract especially young people and the highly educated to take on leading roles in the Netherlands and West Europe to maintain and build the city further as a centre of knowledge and creativity. City neighbourhoods will compete increasingly with each other to attract and unite well educated staff. In the short term, the target group of households with young children who left the city is important for Amsterdam: those who love the city and its facilities will give an impulse to life and pleasure in the city and reinforce the city's reputation (Berenschot, 2004, p. 21).

On the other hand, the current inhabitants of the city, the last group that is described, are presented differently, "as ambassadors for the city":

Residents and business people usually select Amsterdam because it has much to offer. They can then show this to others, family, friends and acquaintances outside the city and to business partners and their clients. Those living in Amsterdam are especially enthusiastic about and loyal to its atmosphere, culture, multi-character nature and the fun the city brings, as well as to its diversity, entertainment, canals, beautiful buildings and personal freedom according to the Burgermonitor (Berenschot, 2004, p. 22).

Firstly, it is important to question how the two groups of people who live in Amsterdam are categorically distinguished for the purpose of defining them as targets of city marketing. While the active city dwellers are conceptualized primarily for their long-term contributions to the city, current residents are seen to serve a more immediate purpose, as ambassadors for the city. The benefits that they offer relate to their identification with, enthusiasm for and loyalty to the city. Thus, it is this last group that conceivably responds to the question about which group has the "closest 'mental' relationship" with the city (Berenschot, 2004, p. 21). Yet, again, we see that the residents are discussed after the other groups, situating them less prominently in city marketing discourses and perhaps implying that they will be less influential in the context of cultural policy and reform. It is also worth pointing out that both groups are described in ways that suggest that the individuals do not necessarily come from Amsterdam, but they have chosen to be there. In the first case, they have been "attracted" to the city (Berenschot, 2004, p. 21), and in the second case, they "select Amsterdam" (Berenschot, 2004, p. 22). These verbs reflect actions of the individuals who contribute to the image and identity of the city. Through strategic city marketing, they intend to activate a certain image and identity for the city. It is important, then, that there is less priority placed on whether or not the individuals come from Amsterdam than if they are drawn to the city and what it offers them.

It is also worth noting that international visitors are placed between these two target groups. From the perspective of discourse analysis, this might represent an intentional break between the two seemingly similar groups of residents, while it also highlights the prioritization of one group over the other. Moreover, it creates a discourse based on scales of continuity and culture and culture and activity. In other words, we can conceptualize a link between active city dwellers and foreign tourists, in terms of their attraction to the city and the innovation and creativity that flows from these groups into the life of the city. On the other hand, there is an implicit relationship between the inhabitants of the city and the visitors, who are drawn to and respond to the ambassadors of the city; in turn, they facilitate the transmission of its culture on an international scale. The text clarifies who comprises these visitors:

Foreign tourists and congress participants who feel attracted to the facilities of Amsterdam and surroundings. The most important target countries are neighbours England, Germany and Belgium and in the second place France, Spain, Italy and Scandinavia. The long-distance market of the USA is also important both from tourist and business points of view. Within all these target countries specific groups with specific themes will be approached (e.g., a campaign in the USA aimed at people with a modern lifestyle interested in design) (Berenschot, 2004, p. 21).

The description of foreign visitors clearly identifies certain kinds of people who are targets of city marketing, both in terms of nationalities and functions in the international arena. Again, the priorities are business, innovation and spirit of commerce, and we gain insight into the international players who are targeted by city marketing.

In the conclusion of the section on target groups, it is explained:

It is not surprising that it is the economic perspective that dominates in this selection of city marketing target groups...Amsterdam has gained great benefit from its reputation as an internationally renowned cultural city and by its good 'quality of life' aspects... In summary, a creative knowledge city creates employment opportunities both directly and indirectly. Indirect opportunities are created because companies are attracted to locations in which many talented people live. Specifying these target groups makes it possible and necessary to specify further the objectives of Amsterdam and city marketing (Berenschot, 2004, p. 23).

These concluding remarks offer a summarized perspective of the city marketing discourse that reinforces the importance of the city's reputation abroad and the role that the creative industries play in the strategic approach to city marketing. In the following section, the "objectives of city marketing" are elaborated. The discourse around target groups becomes more explicit, and the dominance of the economic perspective (referred to above), is enhanced. Furthermore, it becomes apparent that the target groups are predominantly considered in terms of the city's future rather than their past or present relationships to the city. In other words, from a city marketing perspective, it is less important to consider what people already offer the city than to approach them as potentially beneficial for the city's future image and identity. This point is expressed in the opening statement of the section on the objectives of city marketing:

City marketing is not an objective in itself but a means to an end. Amsterdam will be able to achieve and maintain a distinctive relevant position with the selected target groups because of city marketing. This will lead to an increase (or maintenance) of the number of visitors or the use of products and services in Amsterdam and surroundings by these target groups (Berenschot, 2004, p. 23).

The investment in the brand is intended to produce what is described as the “return on the brand”(p. 23), again indicating the economic perspective of city marketing. There were three specific measures of this return that were identified in order to determine the success of city marketing, which were distinguished in terms of their subjective, objective and relative natures. The subjective index referred to the “mental position” and the goal was for the brand to produce a measurable “rise of familiarity with a preference for Amsterdam in the selected target groups” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 23). The objective or “absolute” measure of return referred to increasing “the numbers of visitors, number of company investments, number of orders from selected target groups” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 23). Lastly, the relative indicator of return was based on the city’s market position in relation to their competitors, for example on international ranking lists (Berenschot, 2004, p. 23).

The subjective objectives are described in terms of a “spontaneous recall of Amsterdam” that relates to how each group should reflect on the city. The absolute objectives are measured quantitatively, either by numbers or percentages of people or economic values. Lastly, the relative objectives are measured in relation to the situations (or performances) of other cities, with data coming from various ranking lists. The target groups are considered in the order that they were initially introduced

The information in this table again presents a link between the first two target groups. However, in this case, it is more implicit than explicit, especially since the English translation of the description of objective for the mental position of the second group is incorrect (presenting the same description as the one offered for the Creative industry). Nevertheless, if we consider the subjective objectives, the link becomes most apparent; the objective for the Business decision-makers relates to associations with Amsterdam “as a place of business”, and for the second group, it refers to “spontaneous recall of Amsterdam as a place for logistics service providers and industrial processing” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 24).

For the third and fourth groups, the Creative industry and Knowledge workers, the link is more obvious. The subjective objective is almost identical for these two groups, with the former described as, “spontaneous recall of Amsterdam as creative knowledge centre, association of Amsterdam with...” and the latter as, “spontaneous recall of Amsterdam as knowledge city, association of Amsterdam with...” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 24). The slight distinction between these descriptions seems almost insignificant, but it illuminates an intentional differentiation between “creative knowledge center” and “knowledge city”, which becomes clearer in the absolute objectives for these target groups. Firstly, the absolute objective for the creative industry is measured in terms of “the number of people working” in Amsterdam’s creative sector “as a percentage of the total workforce”. In contrast, this objective for knowledge workers is measured in terms of the number of

people from this group “living in the Amsterdam area as a percentage of the total professional population” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 24). If we consider the fact the first target group, the creative industry, is referred to as an industry, or sector, while the second group, knowledge workers, are represented as a particular kind of group within the population, this might make a certain amount of sense. The presentation of the objectives and measures relating to these two groups suggests first, for the creative sector, what is primarily important is the ratio between the number of people working in Amsterdam’s creative sector and the other sectors in the city, and it is less relevant if these people live in the city. It is the creative industry that determines the boundaries of this measure, so if this sector grows, it might suggest that more individuals can potentially work in Amsterdam’s creative sector. On the other hand, in light of creative city theories that suggest that investments and businesses follow highly mobile, creative individuals (Florida, 2002), we would expect the priority would be to attract more creative people to the city to stimulate the creative workforce and thus the creative sector. In this sense, it would prove more productive to target them with a discourse that refers to creative businesses in terms of the city’s current creative workforce. Instead, they are described in relation to the rest of the working population in order to convey the city’s expanding creative sector and simultaneously target potential creative workers. Knowledge workers, however, are considered in a ratio to the rest of the city’s professional population, which implies and acknowledges them to be assets to the city. The distinction between creative workers and knowledge workers is slight in discourse and practice, but this document illustrates how different people are represented and targeted depending on their current situations and their potential contributions to the city.

Earlier, I pointed out the interesting distinction that the document constructed between Active city dwellers and Amsterdam inhabitants. The main difference between Active city dwellers and Amsterdam inhabitants pertains to how the document constructs their roles as subjects within the city. This is conveyed through the way that city marketing intends to influence their mental positions in the context of the city. For active city dwellers, this is predominantly concerned with cultivating a spontaneous association with and awareness of the city’s “quality of life”. For the Amsterdam inhabitants, the priority is to establish associations with the six dimensions that were prioritized for the city marketing agenda and to instill in this group a sense of pride for the city. It is worth pointing out that the description of the objective for the mental position of this group differs from all of the others, as it is the only one that does not begin with a reference to a “*Spontane bekendheid van Amsterdam als...*” or “a spontaneous recall of Amsterdam as...”<sup>9</sup> (Berenschot, 2004, p. 24). This suggests that the subjective or mental position that is intended for this target group differs

---

<sup>9</sup> I quote the Dutch because it is the same in each, while the English translation for the section on Active city dwellers is slightly different, reading “spontaneous recall awareness of Amsterdam as...”, and I can not be certain if this is an error in typing or translation or if this is intentional.

from the others, which relates to the role that these people are supposed to play in the process of city marketing.

When the Amsterdam inhabitants were described earlier, they were designated as ambassadors of the city, and in this table, they are the group that is accountable to the prioritized dimensions of city branding. They are also the group that should implicitly embody and explicitly convey pride in the city, through their association with the six dimensions, even though these dimensions are part of strategic city marketing and only half (three) are considered strong, while the others are seen as important for the city's future; they are only valuable if they derive meaning and significance through the life of the city and for the people who experience Amsterdam in terms of these dimensions. These dimensions need to be or become vital parts of the city if they are to be perceived as authentic dimensions of the city's cultural image and identity. Whereas the other target groups are associated with the key values and the city's personality and identity, Amsterdam inhabitants are positioned as enactors of Amsterdam's qualities. They are responsible for performing the qualities of social life that convey its authenticity to the other target groups.

The third chapter of the document focuses on the development and organization of city marketing in Amsterdam. It begins with a reiteration of the perspective on city marketing that was expressed in *Choosing Amsterdam* (Berenschot, 2003): city marketing is a balancing act between numerous actors on many stages, who must all know and abide by common rules that have a common agenda (Berenschot, 2004, p. 28).

There is a noticeable shift in the discourse of the document when the focus turns towards the new organization of city marketing that followed from *Choosing Amsterdam*. At this point, "Amsterdam inhabitants" almost disappear from the field of city marketing. Although "the passion of Amsterdammers" is acknowledged as one of the themes that came forth from the previous research, when it is considered, it is essentially replaced with the passion/desire of Amsterdam's marketing organizations. The earlier document also prioritized the role of organizations, but here the displacement of Amsterdammers and the focus on organizations is explicit:

Amsterdam's marketing organisations are born almost always due to a product passion or desire to sell a product better. Their great involvement in and loyalty to the product means they are self-willed and difficult to control...However the sector understands there is competition between cities and we found a great deal of readiness to pull together under the banner of the city marketing of Amsterdam (Berenschot, 2004, p. 29).

In the research document, the focus is on their role in promoting the products that drive their passion for Amsterdam so that the target groups will identify with their pride in the city<sup>10</sup>.

---

<sup>10</sup> "Each of them serves specific target groups and knows how to reach their hearts as they operate close to content" (p. 10).

Based on the research from 2003, it was decided that organizational impact needed to improve in order to strengthen a beneficial image for the city. The document explains:

The organic growth of the promotional sector has caused disproportionate attention for those dimensions which together create Amsterdam's image. Consequently we can say that in 2003 various target groups remain ignored and Amsterdam misses out on opportunities. Amsterdam should invest in this depending on the spearhead priorities (Berenschot, 2004, p. 29).

On March 4, 2004, Amsterdam Partners was established as the umbrella organization of city marketing. It served as the overarching organization and platform that coordinated the other organizations, initiatives and public-private partnerships that worked towards enhancing the city's image and identity through a policy and strategy for organizing organizations (Berenschot, 2004, p. 30).

The document clearly explains the division of responsibilities that are shared between Amsterdam Partners and the City of Amsterdam, introducing a complex relationship between the City and the collaborating organizations. While Amsterdam Partners are described as license holder, the City owns the brand and is thus designated as the "Licence provider" (Berenschot, 2004, p. 33), which implies that they are in the position to authorize Amsterdam Partners in this role. The City is also "Co-decision-maker", alongside Amsterdam Partners, who were previously described as "decision-maker". This is due to the fact that the Mayor of Amsterdam serves as the President of the Board, and the Alderman of Economic Affairs acts as the Vice-president of the General and Daily Boards (Berenschot, 2004, p. 33). Thus, the City's officials are constantly involved in the processes that concern Amsterdam Partners. Moreover, the third and fourth roles of the City of Amsterdam explicate the City's coordinating position in relation to the policies and perspectives that Amsterdam Partners are responsible for and accountable to. The City is described as "policy developer and contractor", and the objective is to cross-link policy and city marketing, so that these become ingrained in practices and ultimately perspectives on the city (Berenschot, 2004, p. 33). The City is also described as "communicator on behalf of the brand Amsterdam". The Mayor is considered "the spokesperson for Amsterdam"; the Alderman of Economic Affairs is acknowledged as a key representative of the city, particularly on account of his affiliation with the media and other press outlets, which also become indexes of the City's central role in marketing the city (Berenschot, 2004, p. 33), albeit from a conceivably mediated perspective. It is also acknowledged that a focal point of "intensive discussion" between the alderman of Economic Affairs and the mayor focused on press contacts and media related issues. On the other hand, there is no reference to the role of target groups, which is to say, the implied subjects of the aforementioned communication. Thus, while the four roles of the City of Amsterdam are described in certain detail, they only specify the nature of the authority that certain people have in relation to the strategic use of city branding and the Amsterdam brand. There is no specification of how the strategy or policies- or the distribution of power and



power relations- relate to the designation of target groups and their realization within the context of strategic city marketing and branding.

In the next section, “Roles of other partners”, we begin to understand how the target groups enter into strategic city marketing. These other partners are considered in terms of three categories, described as “the business community”, “covenant partners” and “the Amsterdam Area” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 34). The business community, comprised of seven large (multi-)national corporations in the Amsterdam area, along with other companies from “the service industry, the legal profession, real estate, hotels, convention centers and publishing” participated in Amsterdam Partners in multiple ways (p. 34). They had to contribute financially to access the City’s brand, and they also contributed to the content and served in an advisory role throughout the process.

The seven primary corporations of the business community are: ABN-AMRO, Heineken, ING, KLM, Nuon, Philips and Schipol. These are successful, internationally known companies that were considered beneficial brand carriers and supporters of the initiative. The other businesses that are included in this group were considered valuable based on certain priorities: These businesses relate to a knowledge or creative economy, they emphasize innovation and creativity, and they prioritize hospitality and quality of life and space (p. 34). In the next section, which introduces “covenant partners”, these priorities become more explicit. As I discuss, the roles that businesses and organizations play in the context of strategic city marketing become clearer, as it becomes possible to identify the relationships between their operating practices and different target groups.

In addition to the business partners that were established as key players in the process of city marketing, eight organizations in the Amsterdam Area signed a contract with Amsterdam Partners on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of September, 2004 that designated the terms of an agreement by which these organizations would act together as The Board of Covenant Partners. The eight organizations were: Amsterdam Airport Area (AAA), Amsterdam Uitburo (AUB), Amsterdam Tourist and Convention Board (ATCB), Amsterdam Center for Architecture (ARCAM), Topsport Amsterdam, KennisKring Amsterdam<sup>11</sup>, Amports and Amsterdam Cruisport (ACP):

These covenant partners are important because a major part of Amsterdam will come through them and they will simultaneously initiate and organize image-building activities. Together they have huge media reach both with Amsterdam’s inhabitants and specific product-market combinations in the world (e.g., ARCAM, Amports, Amsterdam Airport Area). They are licensees of the brand Amsterdam. Finally they will also contribute to the further ‘loading’ of the brand with respect to content (p. 34).

We can assume that these organizations were selected for their intended functions in relation to city marketing and branding. Again, it is clear that the partners have a predominantly international, global outlook and outreach. The document explains:

---

<sup>11</sup> Amsterdam Knowledge Network Foundation

The activities of the partners concern policy and marketing activities for Amsterdam that are intended to carry the advantages of Amsterdam or specific Amsterdam products, services, qualities and characteristics to the world (p. 34).

If we look at the list of the organizations that are chosen as partners, like in *Choosing Amsterdam*, we can see that there is an emphasis on the international outreach of the organizations, with four of the eight directly associated with Amsterdam's travel or tourism industry. The other four have connections to aspects of the city that we can assume are considered advantageous for the city's image, including the city's architecture, certain kinds of cultural events and its knowledge economy. In this sense, it is important to recognize that certain groups become targeted by organizations and their practices, but the target groups should also be acknowledged for how they impact organizations and their practices. It is stated that "a major part of Amsterdam will come through them", but it is important to remember that these organizations are valued because of how they relate to the prioritized dimensions of the city. Thus, they are impacted by the socio-spatial life of the city at the same time as they influence the image and identity of the city. If we consider these partners in relation to the sixteen dimensions that were described by Berenschot, we can see how these partners engage with these aspects of the city in particular ways. AAA and ACP correspond with Amsterdam's hub function, which was identified as a moderately strong aim of the policy agenda. They also relate to the more important goal of promoting Amsterdam as a business city and can also be associated with the city as a meeting place. ACP also ties into the image of the canal city. AUB and ATCB are most directly linked to the artistic city and the city of events, the latter of which can also be associated with Amsports. ARCAM can be linked to residential city as well as architecture and liveable city, and Kenniskring Amsterdam directly relates to city of knowledge. When we look at these particular dimensions on the spider web diagram, we can see that these are all dimensions that the policy seeks to strengthen, with the exception of canal city, which is already extremely strong. While these links do not provide specific information about what the partners will offer to the city, they suggest that city marketing intends to derive the "major part" of Amsterdam that comes through these organizations from outside of the city. Again, this illustrates how city marketing functions in a way that constructs an idealized image and identity of the city that is not necessarily congruent with the image and identity of the city that is produced from the local, residential population.

By the end of the chapter, we have been introduced to the people and organizations that are key actors in the organization and implementation of city marketing. We can recall that the chapter was called "Towards a new organization for city marketing", and it describes the foundations of this model and continues to detail its structural and organizational components. However, in my analyses of the text, I pointed out that certain people were left out of the discourse, specifically noting a lack of references to the target groups that were introduced in previous sections of the document.

In the next chapter, "City marketing and policy", is introduced. The first point addressed is that "city marketing must be linked to the city's socio-cultural, economic and physical planning

policy”. The text introduces examples of recent policies that “also contain a number of activities aimed at improving the living and social climate in areas such as security, accessibility, healthcare, education and social control. Obviously these activities contribute to a growing positive city image” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 38). In the prior discussions, an emphasis was placed on shortcomings of other initiatives, such as disorganization or lack of direction, which led to inefficient policies or organizations; here, the point is that these policies provide foundations for the current agenda. It is implied that prior policies were good but not good enough; they contribute positively to Amsterdam’s image, but more is necessary if the city’s image will improve to the extent that is desired by those who are advocating the city marketing initiative. This is where the relationship between city marketing and policy becomes relevant:

The cooperation between content experts in the various policy areas and the communication and marketing specialists of Amsterdam is key to the Amsterdam approach to city marketing. This approach is building a sustainable relationship between content, policy and marketing or in old-fashioned terms: product, place, promotion and personnel (Berenschot, 2004, p. 38).

It is suggested that this “does justice to the Amsterdam culture and structure”, as opposed to cities that “operate in a more top-down fashion” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 38). The quote above states that Amsterdam’s approach to city marketing depends on a mutually beneficial relationship between experts in the fields of policy and marketing and communication specialists. Through this relationship, conceivably, stronger links can be established between content, product, place - in other words “culture”- and policy, marketing, promotion and personnel- “structure”. Importantly, this quote reduces policy areas to objectified terms, which are equated with a purportedly justified notion of “Amsterdam culture”; second, this is contrasted with “top-down” models, suggesting that Amsterdam’s approach is organized differently, while the prior chapter described the City in a prominent position of authority over the organization and implementation of policies and plans for city marketing. Instead, we can identify cultural dimensions the Amsterdam approach to city marketing holistically. In part, this is why the approach can be referred to as the Amsterdam approach; it depends on the inextricable relationships between Amsterdam’s products, places, promotions and personnel (i.e. its people, industries, places and practices), all of which influence and reflect culture in the city.

As the relationship between city marketing and policy is explained, there is a noticeable shift in the emphasis on the City’s prominent position as the coordinator of an overall strategy. First, it is explained that “The City of Amsterdam provides impulses to the city marketing of Amsterdam” by linking projects and festivals to the objectives of city marketing, initiating new projects and incorporating existing ones into the strategic approach (Berenschot, 2004, p. 39). This last objective, linking city marketing with existing policy projects, becomes a focal point of the following sections of the document, and here we can see how the city’s qualities are again introduced into the strategic approach for reforming the city’s image. Additionally, these sections refer to the target groups of

cultural policy and reform, and we get a clearer picture of the way that the objectives of city marketing become relevant in the context of cultural policy.

The ‘pearl’ projects are introduced as selected projects and activities from the 2002-2006 policy program that have been identified for their potential to “strengthen Amsterdam’s desired image”. Questions are raised to illustrate the thoughts behind the selection of certain “pearl” projects:

How can we make better use of the centres of knowledge to sell the city to people working in the knowledge sector? How can we use international education to develop Amsterdam as a city of knowledge? How can we stimulate the Uitmarkt to make it even more creative and innovative (Berenschot, 2004, p. 39)?

At the level of the text, these questions let readers know some of the general considerations that went into the selection of the projects. However, they also serve another function. They reiterate the key values, immediately reinforcing these concepts in the minds of the readers, linking them to the projects from the outset. In the brief paragraph above, the term knowledge is used four times, along with the term education, highlighting the idea of the knowledge city alongside the idea of innovation, which is expressed by questioning how to make the city more creative and innovative. Overall, the projects are seeking to promote and sell the city through its reputation as a knowledge city, and the intention is to do this by linking the knowledge sector to the values of innovation and creativity.

The projects are selected based three criteria: “target groups, key values and dimensions” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 39), and it is explained that ACCU has been established as the official group to oversee the links between the projects and city marketing. When a project is selected, it means that it will be promoted in a way that corresponds with the city marketing policy; it also means that the project will be prioritized, both in terms of policy innovation and on city marketing platforms (Berenschot, 2004, p. 39).

Policies and projects related to the business climate are introduced to show how city marketing intends to promote Amsterdam as “a city of knowledge and business, with a distinctive combination of creativity, innovation and business instinct” (Berenschot, 2004, 40). Again, these same qualities are referred to as priorities for the image and identity of the city (with spirit of commerce mentioned in place of business instinct). In the next section, “Portal Amsterdam project” carries the discussion forward, explaining how the development of a “state-of-the-art internet portal” is primarily intended to promote Amsterdam as a “city of knowledge and business”, and it is suggested, the “internet is not just a means of information, but also a means of communication, experience, commerce and export and an instrument via which to develop an image” (Berenschot, 2004, p. 40). In this section, there is a clear focus on certain target groups, who comprise visitors in the broad sense and are designated and distinguished by the categories of tourists, conference participants, foreign investors and companies (Berenschot, 2004, p. 40). Thus, while the intended audience of the portal will vary considerably, it is apparently not directed towards the local

population. On the other hand, one of its main purposes- or its emphasis- is to provide a resource for ordering different products that are available within the city, ranging from hospitality services to tickets to cultural events, for example. Particularly in relation to cultural events and activities that are advertised on the site, we are left to wonder if these will appeal to the local population and be identified as cultural from the local perspective, as well as represented as such to the target audiences.

The City's international press policy is also addressed, and it is described as passive and disorganized. It is stated that this was addressed by Amsterdam Partners in 2004, with the establishment of a group that is responsible for international press policy. This discussion corresponds with the establishment of the I amsterdam portal, which followed from the consultants' advice regarding the necessity of a centrally guided press policy and its incorporation, with the web portal, into the city marketing agenda (Berenschot, 2004, p. 40).

Lastly, there is a brief discussion of the importance of improving the image of Amsterdam as a hospitable city, which is considered important for the city's overall image. The current proposal (for 2004-2005) is responding to the fact that visitors, tourists and the industry rated Amsterdam below average in 2001 and 2002 (Berenschot, 2004, p. 40). There is no information about residents' views on hospitality in Amsterdam, and there is no consideration of their impact on the perception or experience of Amsterdam as a hospitable city (Berenschot, 2004, p. 40). An appendix to the document presents information from the "official residence discussion", where city marketing was discussed under the broader topic of Amsterdam's international competitiveness. This was not a discussion that was open to the general public, but instead, it was attended by a select group of representatives of international companies and Dutch multinationals, headquartered in or around Amsterdam (Berenschot, 2004, Appendix 2). Nevertheless, this is where the document provides information about how certain residents perceive dimensions of Amsterdam, including liveable city and woonstad, which are the closest to the idea of the hospitable city. Their perspectives largely coincide with the views in the document, which emphasize the value of the global outlook and hospitality as well as safety in the city; additionally, there is an emphasis on improving old neighborhoods and developing new residential and business areas with improved connections (Berenschot, 2004, Appendix 2).

After the content of policy is discussed, the focus turns towards the organization and coordination of city marketing. Amsterdam Partners is described as the key player, and ACCU is introduced as the group that was established to oversee the coordination of city marketing. The department of communication is also described as a key actor in ensuring that the urban districts approach city marketing in accordance with the central agenda.

The document then turns to focus on the Amsterdam brand. The subsequent sections explicate why I amsterdam has been selected for specific objectives and how it will succeed. This discussion begins with general statements that introduce the objectives and potential of the brand:

Both the city and the region need a ‘tangible’ new positioning; a new brand that will typify the city’s benefits and values. Organisations are willing to link their brand names to a new brand. This means the brand has to meet conditions; for instance it has to be useable for any organisation and also effective beyond national frontiers (Berenschot, 2004, p. 44).

Then, the section “A new brand” briefly explains why I amsterdam was selected as the city’s new brand:

Amsterdam Partners has opted for a slogan which will serve as umbrella in both a practical and intrinsic sense, will be versatile without being implicit and will stand for Amsterdam’s main benefits and values... [I amsterdam] is clear, short and powerful. I amsterdam is easy to remember and an appealing slogan according to research thus far. I amsterdam starts in Amsterdam and its region and over time will travel the world (Berenschot, 2004, p. 45).

The description of the brand is followed by an explanation of how to use the brand and photos to illustrate the proper usage in different contexts. It is presented on the side of a building, as part of the architecture; it is surrounding a football field, forming part of the scene of the sporting event; it is across the cover of a book, which presents an image of a woman’s face with the city’s brand superimposed across her face, as if she is now stamped with the brand, since the logo appears on top of the image of the person and comes across more prominently through the design (*see* Appendix A, 3.3 1). All three of the images offer examples of intended uses for the brand’s incorporation into the social life, space and fabric of the city. We can already see how this is supposed to enact a transition that incorporates the brand in a way that makes it stand out; at the same time, it becomes part of the image and identity of the city in a way that is as seamless and “from within” as possible. While the strategy for this complex and dialectical process is not explained in great detail, readers who seek such explication are referred to the “manifesto”<sup>12</sup>. A brief discussion of the “starting point” of the process is included, which warrants attention:

The starting point is the Amsterdammer, city ambassador. I amsterdam is the slogan for both people and area. I amsterdam allows the people to voice their pride and confidence while expressing support and love for their city. I amsterdam can be used in many ways, but must always come from the people; this is the slogan’s true power. The people who live here, the people who work here, the people who study here, the people who visit here and the people who come to Amsterdam seeking a better future are, in the end, the best evidence for why Amsterdam is a city of choice. I amsterdam should embody the spirit of Amsterdam, and therefore its use will create a city brand recognized the whole world over (Berenschot, 2004, p. 45).

Before turning to this piece of text, I want to return to the distinction that I noted between the target groups described as “active city dwellers” and “Amsterdam inhabitants”, which were both positioned relatively low, in comparison to most of the other target groups. The quote above implies that the

---

<sup>12</sup> The manifesto is the introduction to the I amsterdam brand manual. The manifesto explains the significance of the brand, and the manual details the precise ways that the brand can be used for different purposes (Edenspiekermann, 2012).

introduction of the brand repositions certain groups within the discourse on city marketing. In the previous discussion of these groups, I also noticed that the inhabitants of the city were defined as “ambassadors” of Amsterdam, which implies that they should be positioned with power in relation to the brand; furthermore, I suggested that the language used in discussing both groups implied some degree of selection or choice as accountable to their situations in Amsterdam. This implication of choice further corresponds to the ideals of the city’s brand, as it is represented in the quote above. Thus, while the subjects of the governmentality of reform appeared to be underwritten by the policy discourse on strategic city marketing, the introduction of city branding- and the discourse on the city’s brand- asserts their positions (and power) through their relationship to the city’s image and identity. Returning to the quote above, it begins with the starting point, the Amsterdammers, who are important voices of the city. However, it proceeds to introduce other subjects who are also targets of the brand, who are described as the best examples of the brand and describes Amsterdam as a city of choice. Thus, the discourse of city marketing is a discourse of reform that begins with the pride of the Amsterdammers and ends with various (target) groups choosing Amsterdam and taking pride in the city.

The previous section acknowledges the role that Amsterdammers potentially play, as the City presents its reformed and enhanced image to the world. As soon as Amsterdammers are acknowledged for their positions of power within the city, and thus their accountability to the city’s image and identity, we can begin to question how they are subjects of the governmentality of reform.

There is a small sub-section on the I amsterdam brand, which follows from the role of Amsterdammers in the process of city branding, which can be considered the concluding section of the main text of the document. Previously, the emphasis was placed on the idea that the I amsterdam brand derived value, or “the slogan’s true power”, from the fact that it always came from the people (Berenschot, 2004, p. 45), voicing “their pride and confidence while expressing support and love for their city”. While it could be used in various ways, it becomes meaningful through the people who identify with the brand and realize its significance within the city. In the next paragraph, there is a sudden shift in focus, and the discussion addresses the coordination of brand usage. In relation to the prior paragraph, this seems abrupt, but it actually seems more consistent with the rest of the document. It is briefly explained that in the early stages, Amsterdam Partners will supervise and coordinate the usage of the brand, carefully considering “how it is used, by whom, for what etc.” (p. 45). It is difficult to reconcile the City’s initial approach towards branding, when it is presented with both top-down and bottom-up imperatives. In other words, it first seemed that city branding was starting from the Amsterdammer, as the quote provided expressed; then, we confront the strategic coordination of the brand, and this raises questions about the intentions and ideals of the brand. For example: *if the brand is to be used in certain ways, by certain people, does it intend to include and exclude certain people who become valued as Amsterdammers?*

In the sub-section “Using the slogan”, the document presents an overview of information included in the brand manual, which was produced by Kessels Kramer, the agency that developed the I amsterdam brand. It also explains how the brand should be used, as documented in the manual:

I amsterdam in combination with photography is the basis for the I amsterdam campaign. Here I amsterdam shows the human face and the human story of Amsterdam. I amsterdam also means a clear choice. I amsterdam is an active statement that can be used as an answer. Therefore, I amsterdam is a conclusion. So, use I amsterdam to answer specific questions about who, what, where and why in choices for Amsterdam. The questions themselves should be the same size and typeface as the answer: I amsterdam. Always place I amsterdam on a separate line from the question. This creates a spatial heartbeat giving I amsterdam an appropriate finality and strength...(Berenschot, 2004, p. 46).

Here is another example of the combination of politics and economics in the culture-based strategy for re-presenting Amsterdam’s image and identity. The City developed its approach to city marketing based on a collaboration with marketing consultants, and its brand and implementation strategy were developed by a marketing company. Previously, it was suggested that Amsterdammers were ambassadors of the city and were supposed to express their pride through the city’s brand. This text suggests that the brand must be used in specific ways by specific people, implying that individuals cannot express their own identities through the brand but instead must conform to the designated regulations outlined for its usage in order to convey a particular identity that is associated with an ideal image and identity that coincides with the desired image of the local Amsterdammer.

---

### 3.4 I Amsterdam: Concluding Remarks

---

In this chapter, I introduced two documents that related to my study of the discourse of strategic city marketing and branding through the I amsterdam brand. I began with *Choosing Amsterdam* (Berenschot, 2003), the research document that led to the formulation and implementation of the I amsterdam brand. Next, I presented *I Amsterdam: The Making of...the city marketing of Amsterdam* (Berenschot, 2004), a document that was published after the introduction of the brand. This case study introduced an important perspective that guided the City’s marketing and branding strategy. While the first document came from the perspective of the consultants who directed the marketing policy, the second document illustrated how this perspective was incorporated into the City’s view and agenda. Therefore, the documents address the same topic and present similar- at times the same- information, but they convey different perspectives. Importantly, however, both documents were largely influenced by the consultants, who not only informed the views, but also contributed content in both texts.

The first reason I decided to begin with this case study is because it made sense chronologically. The documents were produced before the other documents/discourses that I analyze in this project. Thus, they refer to the context of reform in Amsterdam before it began to change as a result of the interventions that I discuss in my subsequent studies: These include the



socio-spatial and economic reforms that I introduce in Chapters 4 and 5 and the academic/discursive interventions that I introduce in chapter 6. Importantly, the policy/administrative discourse did reveal that the discourses that I consider in the following chapters are influential in policy/administrative discourses. Prior interventions and policies impacted the approaches that were being taken, and academic scholarship on city marketing and branding entered into the discourses that I considered.

The second reason that I began with this case study was because I expected it to offer a productive starting point for understanding the City's current approach towards culture in relation to cultural policy. As we saw, the documents referred to the ways that the brand would be used to promote and influence culture, for example in relation to particular stories and symbols for the city. Additionally, certain target groups were identified for the roles that they would play in promoting Amsterdam's brand and its cultural image and identity. I assumed that an analysis of the foundations of the City's approach towards cultural policy and reform would offer insight into the conceptualization and operationalization of culture that were central to the City's cultural policy strategies. In this respect, this case study responded to my main research question, first, by asking how strategic city marketing and branding policies conceptualized and operationalized culture; and, second, it questioned if and how this related Amsterdam's cultural image and identity, as linked to or distinct from Amsterdam and its inhabitants.

In the following discussion, I present the main findings of this case study, and I reflect on how these findings respond to my research questions in this project; additionally I reflect on this case study in relation to the theories that are guiding my research in this project, and I discuss how this study informs further research and analyses in this project.

My analysis of the administrative/policy discourse has led to important insights that I have identified in terms of four key findings, and in this concluding section, I will consider how they can further my exploration of how the concept of culture relates to identities, industries, places and practices: 1) This discourse constructs a link between culture and economics in terms of activities and policies; 2) The target groups of the discourse are constructed through the triad of businesses, visitors and residents of the city; 3) the discourse has a global outlook and agenda; 4) organization is a key concept within this discourse. In order to reflect on these findings, the concepts of creativity and the creative city and governmentality are productive for this case study and for extending my findings to my further analyses.

This study has shown that the City of Amsterdam associates culture with economics in multiple ways. This is broadly implied by the City's decision to turn to marketing consultants and then strategic city marketing and branding for improving the city's image and identity. Furthermore, throughout the texts, numerous references emphasized the inextricability of culture and economics. More specifically, both documents presented two noticeable recurrent triads: the key values (creativity, innovation, spirit of commerce) and its target groups (visitors, businesses, residents).

Instead of highlighting the ways that these values and individuals/groups relate to the city's history or past and present image/identity, the documents focused on their implications for the city's future. Thus, the link between culture and economics is based on the ways that culture factors into the development agenda, which suggests that it is valued when it is part of a culture-led economic development strategy, such as strategic city marketing or when it fuels the cultural or creative industries.

As I pointed out, Appendix A in *Choosing Amsterdam* elucidates the perspectives that prioritize culture in terms of the future image and identity of the city and its inhabitants. This is one of the most significant points brought forth through this study, as it specifically relates to how culture is constructed in relation to ideas, images and ideals and how this enters into a discourse and the processes of cultural policy and reform. The second document builds upon this initial point that was presented by the consultants. The City apparently took direction from the consultants as they developed their approach for successfully implanting city marketing. Specifically, the City operationalized the key values, which are explicitly linked to target groups that are explicated in the later document. The elaboration of target groups further clarifies the City's prioritization of potential city users over the city's residents, or Amsterdammers who are valued for their pride in the city but we can assume are not intended as the primary targets (or subjects) of the I Amsterdam campaign. As we saw, when the target groups were broadly referenced, residents were mentioned after the other two (following visitors and businesses), and when addressed specifically, they were at the bottom of list, following the other six groups. Furthermore, their main contribution to city marketing was to express and disseminate their pride in the city to attract potential visitors and members of the other target groups.

The prioritized target groups were businesses and visitors to the city that corresponded with an emphasis on creativity and Florida's conceptualization of the creative city. This is based on the idea that successful creative cities thrive and attract creative people when they incorporate talent, technology and tolerance- or the 3Ts- into the life of the city (Florida, 2002). The focus on attracting particular people also highlights the document's outward focus, in spite of the key role that is discussed for the city's residents, the Amsterdammers.

This case study also emphasized the importance of the concept of organization for the City's approach towards marketing and branding Amsterdam. In the policy discourse, the idea of organization was discussed as a method, in terms of organizing different actors in the field of city marketing, and more literally, in reference to the organizations that were involved in marketing the city's brand. The link between these conceptualizations emerges through a key point that comes forth towards the end of the second document. It is suggested city marketing can do justice to the culture and structure of Amsterdam, but it will depend on coordinated efforts between content experts in the different policy areas and experts in the fields of communication and marketing. This collaboration is described as the basis of the necessary, sustainable relationship between the city's

content, its policies and its marketing strategy. This point is significant because it clarifies the City's perception of the relationship between "culture", policy and strategy. First, culture and structure are linked in the discourse of city marketing. In other words, city marketing can only benefit Amsterdam's culture when it is linked to its structural- or organizational- imperative. Culture is conceptualized as content that is proscribed by the experts' designated policy areas, and it is considered inextricable from the coordinated operationalization of this content in the representation and promotion of the city. As we saw, this operationalization occurs through the administrative discourse of city marketing, which is expressed through the municipality's agenda and its dominant role within Amsterdam Partners and the organizational network. It also occurs through the matrix of organizations that are introduced as key players in marketing Amsterdam, notably those that form Amsterdam Partners. As we saw, these organizations predominantly operate beyond the city, with the majority operating in the travel and tourism, leisure and/or events sectors. Thus, they are directed towards the prioritized target groups, again illustrating how current residents are less relevant to the concept of culture that is implied in the city marketing discourse. However, this does not mean that this discourse does not influence the practices and experiences of residents and their impact on the cultural image and identity of the city.

This analysis offers a very small sample of this city marketing discourse, but these documents offer clear sources of information from two key actors in the development and implementation of the Amsterdam brand. Thus, while they offer a partial perspective, it is a crucial perspective for this project. Furthermore, my initial case study illustrated the extensive nature of my goals for this project, while it also illustrated the important information that can be ascertained through carefully and critically analyzing discourses of reform in order to gain a better understanding of culture.

This first case study illuminates the dominant discourse on policy, revealing the key role that various actors played in the organization and administration of strategic city marketing. The documents that I selected explicitly highlight the key position of the consultants and a range of experts who advised the City on their strategy and subsequent policies for marketing and promoting the city. The City of Amsterdam's culture-led policy approach was driven by economic objectives, indicating the close link between the City's politics and economics and implying the link between culture and economics that I mentioned earlier and was referred to repeatedly in the texts. At this point, I will suggest that Amsterdam's shift towards the market-based branding approach for cultural policy is indicative of a shift in the governmentality of reform, which I continue to examine in my subsequent case studies. This case study suggests the City's policy agenda to be increasingly aligning with the principles of the market. In both documents, there is also an emphasis on the need for organizations and individuals to be responsible and accountable to the brand, and thus the well being- in other words, the (economic) success- of the city.

Through city marketing and branding, cultural policies and economic practices are becoming increasingly linked. This convergence of culture and economics occurred through the entrepreneurial approach that the City took towards marketing its image and identity as well as its focus on the role of culture in improving its economic situation locally and globally. I will suggest that the links between culture and economy further imply a connection between the social and the economic, and I explore this in my next case study, in Chapter 4. Through my analysis of particular policies that have intervened in designated areas in Amsterdam, I extend my proposition that the City's economic and entrepreneurial approach intends to reflect and influence the socio-cultural life of the city, while it also represents and serves an overtly socio-economic agenda.

Through studying a specific socio-spatial region and particular policies and reforms that intervened in this area, I will develop and assess the applicability of a conceptualization of the City's approach in terms of strategies of (neoliberal) governmentality. Thus, I expand upon my analysis of the discourse of reform in terms of the governmentality of reform that I began to identify in this first case study; I will continue to critically reflect on the applicability of the concept of governmentality in this project; I will also continue to question a shift from liberal to neoliberal governmentality, which I have addressed in prior academic scholarship on Amsterdam's Red Light District, which I introduce as part of the academic discourse that I analyze in Chapter 6.

As my analyses become more specific, and as I progress to my second case study, this administrative perspective becomes less explicit. In chapter 4, I introduce documents that allow me to expand upon this case study, with documents that focus on particular elements of the City's reform agenda from the administrative perspective. In chapter 5, I shift the focus of my analysis, introducing elements and effects of the reforms from perspectives of individuals and groups of people who engaged with the reforms. I refer to this as an analysis of the discourse from interventions. In chapter 6, I again shift my analytical perspective, by framing these reforms in an academic discourse that I have selected because it enables me to critically address the reforms and perspectives, as well as the socio-spatial context, that I introduce in my previous case studies.

My aim will be to use the prior analyses to engage with the subsequent materials; more significantly, however, I intend to apply insight from the next set of analyses to build upon my critical review of the former data and analyses. Thus, as I continue to present my research and analytical insights, my objective is to continue to develop my theoretical model for analyzing culture in this study and to present more substantive insights from my analyses of different discourses of reform.

## 4. A POLICY/ADMINISTRATIVE DISCOURSE OF REFORM: CULTURE IN CONTEXTS OF SOCIO-SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS

---

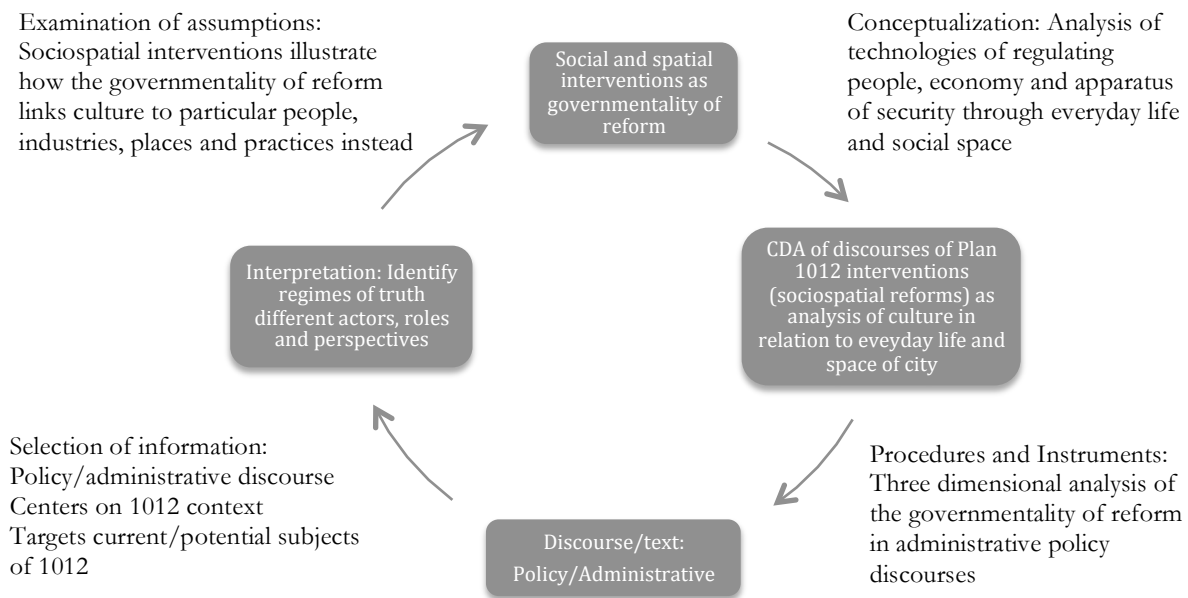
In the previous sections, I introduced and analyzed documents that explicitly related to the conceptualization and implementation of strategic city marketing and branding in Amsterdam. The documents that I considered introduced a discourse that largely- at least overtly- was derived from the administrative perspective. More specifically, the discourse on marketing and branding was the product of the relationship between marketing consultants and the City of Amsterdam. Other actors within and outside of the city, including experts such as marketing consultants and scholars, locals and visitors, influenced the discourses in different ways. In this section, I present documents that I also consider to be from the administrative perspective. They contribute to the discourse of reform in specific ways that were referred to in the discourses on city marketing and branding. The earlier texts introduced discourses of reform that highlighted Amsterdam's *key values* and particular *target groups* for the city, and I will consider how these enter into the subsequent discourses that I analyze.

In this chapter, I analyze examples of reforms in a specified region in the city center, designated by the postal code 1012. This is where the majority of the pearl projects were located, which I introduced through the policy document in the previous chapter. This is why I decided to focus on this part of the city. Furthermore, following the introduction of strategic city marketing and branding, more policies and plans were introduced that specifically focused on this part of the city. In contrast to my first case study, which addressed the broad approach of strategic city marketing and branding in Amsterdam, this case study looks at cultural policy and reform interventions within a particular area in Amsterdam's city center. In this respect, my second case study exemplifies a policy discourse that emphasizes the socio-spatial dimensions of (cultural) reform in Amsterdam. I expect that my analysis of particular spaces and places will provide important information about how culture relates to these spaces and discourses of reform, for example in terms of the city's history, different kinds of experiences (everyday practices versus tourist and economic activities) and notions of authenticity and quality of life in the city. Again, I will question the relationship between the "culture" of reform policies and strategies and the "culture" that is attributed to identities, industries, places and practices; however, with this case study, my focus will be on the socio-spatial life of a particular area within the city. This case study is distinct because it enables me to hone in on the way that a particular part of the city is presented and how it is constructed as a context of (cultural) policy and reform. Additionally, the documents are presented in ways that target people differently. Some people become audiences of the discourses, and other people are excluded and are subsequently displaced from this part of the city. Thus, while the target groups might be the same as they were in the previous documents, the discourses engage with these groups differently by positioning them as

particular kinds of targets of the reforms; this impacts how the interventions represent policies and reforms, as well as culture. As we will see, this is reflected in the discursive practices that are used to present information in these documents and the ways that different people engage with this information.

I begin this study with an analysis of documents that introduce Coalition Project 1012 (also called Plan 1012). These documents refer to the City's strategy and plans for reforming the 1012 postcode area. I also present resources that zoom in on selected areas and reforms within this context. My intention is to analyze examples that reflect and resist ideas of culture through discourses of reform.

### Theoretically Driven Model Guiding CDA




---

#### 4.1 *Project 1012: Quality for the Heart of Amsterdam*

---

#### **Dimensions of discourse (Overview):**

**1st Text:** The text comes from a press release that was published on the I amsterdam portal, titled “Quality for the heart of Amsterdam” (I amsterdam, 2008)<sup>13</sup>. It presents brief paragraphs that offer an overview of the plans for the 1012 postcode area and the reasons for the reforms.

**2nd Discoursal practices** (Production, interpretation): The online text is presented as a press release by the City of Amsterdam. It is published on the Amsterdam web portal, which is a website that was developed as part of the City’s marketing and branding strategy. The text expresses the City’s opinions and intentions. It offers an overview of plans for reforming and enhancing the 1012 region. It constructs a discourse of reform around the dichotomy of the areas strengths and opportunities vs. risks and weaknesses.

**3rd Social practice:** The text emphasizes the need for changes by pointing out existing threats to the security and quality of the city center. It highlights potential opportunities for the city that will open up if certain problems are addressed. The narrative of securing the city center and improving its quality supports plans for reforming the socio-spatial life of the city center.

**Structure of the Discourse Summary):**

- The discourse is presented in a press release on the I amsterdam web portal (as of August 2014, it was still available through the website’s media center or searches on the Portal for relevant terms)
- It includes 9 sections of text, including an introductory paragraph, followed by sections titled: Reason, Quality, Opportunities, Strategy, First pillar: 9 key projects, Second pillar: public space, Third pillar: street-oriented strategy, Zoning
- Following the text, links are provided to the brochure “Heart of Amsterdam” and “FAQ on Project 1012”

On December 6, 2008, the I amsterdam portal presented a press release with the title “Quality for the heart of Amsterdam”. The press release introduced “Coalition Project 1012” (later shortened to “Project 1012”<sup>14</sup> or Plan 1012) to the visitors to the city’s web portal, which was largely intended for an international audience.<sup>15</sup> The publication of the press release on the city’s web portal links it to the city marketing and branding campaign and subsumes it within the policy/administrative discourse. For my discourse analysis, it is important to understand the significance of this type of text before turning to its analysis. Studies on press releases have offered important information about the news making process, for example through the concept of “preformulation”, or the use of a ready-made framework, which has been shown to follow an “appropriate news structure” (Bell, 1991, p.

---

<sup>13</sup> The press release is no longer available at the link that was provided on the web portal. The text can still be downloaded at <http://www.iamsterdam.com/~media/PDF/qualityfortheheartofamsterdam.pdf>, as of August 31<sup>st</sup>, 2014. I have included an image of the press release as it appeared on the city’s website in the Appendices (see Appendix B, 4.1 1).

<sup>14</sup> In Dutch, this was still frequently referred to as *Coalitieproject 1012*, which was shortened to *Coalitie 1012*.

<sup>15</sup> This website was created when the city’s brand was developed, in order to promote the brand globally, through a single portal to the city. This is also reflected in the fact that the press release appeared on the English page of the website.

58); this includes a strong headline, a lead paragraph and the use of third-person referencing, to present objective perspectives that sound like facts (Jacobs, 1999).

The title- or the headline- of the press release draws readers in with the broad but important concept of quality. As the headline of the text, the statement “quality for the heart of Amsterdam” immediately expresses the objectives that will be discussed, and presents the press release with a positive and forward looking perspective (I amsterdam, 2008). It also contextualizes the area of the city that is described in terms of the “heart” of the city. This immediate reference to the area as the city’s heart constructs the region as detrimental to the life of the city and its inhabitants.

The text begins with an explanation of the necessity of reforms in the 1012 area, and it proceeds to outline a strategy for achieving the desired improvements in this area. The general intentions are introduced in the first sentence of the press release, where it states: “The ambition is to turn postcode area 1012 into a safer, more beautiful and liveable area” (I amsterdam, 2008). Already, we can see that the discourse of the strategy constructs ideals against problems relating to security, public space and everyday life. This is confirmed in the brief explanation that is provided: “during the past few years, this area has seen an increase in organized crime”. The second statement explains and justifies the plans. This is corroborated with the following statements:

There is crime and an infrastructure that is maintained and fed by a host of criminogenic facilities such as brothels, smartshops, currency exchange bureaus, gambling joints, coffee shops, convenience stores, sex clubs and some restaurants and bars...Furthermore, the drugs issue and women trafficking are important reasons for the strategy (I amsterdam, 2008).

This suggests that the reforms include a strategy for dealing with crime. It states that certain businesses are likely to attract criminal activities (implied by the term criminogenic). This press release illustrates how discourses of reform constructed problems and solutions in order to strategically intervene in the social life and space of the city. Already, it is apparent that this discourse will offer information about how reforms intend to intervene in these spaces by changing the ways that people experience them. This relates to the industries that operate in these spaces and the business that is conducted and the ways that individuals perceive this area in their everyday lives. As we will see, this text contributes to a discourse of quality that is based on interventions in the social life and space of Amsterdam that coincides with the ongoing promotion of the city’s new, branded image.

This press release was the first time that the City publicly and explicitly introduced its strategic intentions to drastically change the landscape of the city center and the world-renowned Red Light District to its international audience. The web portal was a space where it could be published to reach the global audience as well as local population. After explaining the reason for the reforms, the press release turns to a paragraph under the heading “Quality”. Under this heading, it states, “The City of Amsterdam wants to give the city centre a quality boost” so that it becomes “an area of quality hotels and stores that sell high-quality products”. At the same time:



Everyone must come to know the 1012 area as one of the most exciting, most varied and most interesting centres of Europe. The balance between the different functions in the area will improve. It should eventually attract a wider audience (I amsterdam, 2008).

The introduction of the document clearly states that the strategy intends to deal with an organized criminal infrastructure, and the first section explains that this will be achieved by replacing certain less desirable businesses with others that are considered higher quality. On the other hand, this seems counterintuitive to enhancing the diversity of the area and attracting a wider audience. Following bullet points that reiterate the City's intentions to remove the organized criminal infrastructure and businesses that are conducive to criminality and degeneration, as well as to promote development and quality, there is a brief section on "Opportunities". Here, there is a list of projects and potential partners that implies that progress is already being supported and is underway.

The rest of the text provides an overview of the strategy, which is divided into three pillars: 9 key projects, public space and a street-oriented strategy. With respect to the key projects, it explains, "The city will make space available for alteration and development projects in important locations in postcode area 1012". It continues, "There will no longer be any room for prostitution at Oudekerksplein. It will be replaced by commercial activities, shops, culture, art, bars and restaurants" (I amsterdam, 2008). While this broadly distinguishes between cultural and socio-economic activities, it distinctly separates prostitution from the desirable activities in this area by explicating its banishment from the area.

Then, in the section on "public space," we read:

An important second element of the strategy is improving the quality of the public space. The 'heart of Amsterdam' is to become an area where everyone feels welcome (I amsterdam, 2008).

However, when it says "everyone", this does not mean those who have been removed from the city center in the process of reform such as those working in businesses that have been replaced. An obvious example is the prostitutes who have been banned from the Oudekerksplein, and others whose businesses were described as criminogenic earlier in the text. Under the "street-oriented strategy", it becomes clearer that a number of businesses will be removed to deal with the criminal infrastructure and the general imbalance in the kinds of businesses in the area:

The number of window brothels will be reduced, as will the number of coffee shops. By reducing and zoning these types of functions, manageability increases and the criminal infrastructure can be tackled further. Additionally, there will be fewer smartshops, callshops, convenience stores, massage parlours sex shops, sex cinemas, sex amusement arcades, sex theatres, souvenir shops and headshops (I amsterdam, 2008).

The press release ends with a paragraph on zoning, which explains that prostitution will be reduced and limited to specific areas, resulting in half the number of brothels in much more confined areas, along with the closure of a maximum of 26 coffee shops. It is suggested that women who worked in windows that will close will be offered assistance in their situations, in the form of health care, as well

as legal and employment counseling. This conveys the assumption that these women would prefer this kind of assistance than remain in their previous employment or take a job as a prostitute in another location.

In this single page, it becomes apparent that certain businesses are classified as problematic and associated with degeneration, and others are presented as solutions that can improve the quality of life in the city. This perspective is enhanced in the strategy papers and documents that follow up on this press release, and I analyze a key publication in the following section.

At the bottom of the webpage for the press release, viewers might notice links for two additional documents that provide more information about the strategy that was introduced. There is no information provided to describe the documents other than the following:

Download brochure 'Heart of Amsterdam'  
Download FAQ on Project 1012 (I amsterdam, 2008).

The documents that readers can download offer more information about the content of the press release. However, they come from the same source and perspective as the press release, specifically the City of Amsterdam, and those who are directing the reforms in the city. However, as we will see in my analysis of the brochure in the following section, this is less explicit when the City intends to speak to its readers less authoritatively, presenting the information in a way that they can relate to in their subject positions, as everyday users of the city. This exemplifies how news making is a process that selectively demarcates the voices that are represented in media discourses, at times mystifying whose voices and positions are represented in order to blend the powerful speakers with the everyday readers (Fairclough, 1992, p. 110).

---

#### 4.2 *Project 1012: Future Perspectives*

---

##### **Dimensions of discourse (Overview):**

**1st Text:** The text comes from the document *Heart of Amsterdam: Future Perspectives 1012* (van der Heijden, 2008). It is an informative document that includes descriptions and images to explain the current situation and plans for the future of the city.

**2nd Discoursal practices** (Production, interpretation): The brochure is presented as a strategy paper that is the result of the collaboration between the Central Borough and the municipal council. It constructs an image of the current area that is being reformed and presents visions for the future. The perspective comes from the 2<sup>nd</sup> person (we), policy and planning perspective, speaking on behalf of the City and its public. It presents objective information about the current state of the city center and plans to develop and enhance certain elements. Images reiterate individuals' identifications with social life and space in the city at the level of everyday experience.

**3<sup>rd</sup> Social practice:** Through a discourse of reform that focuses on removing risks/threats and realizing strengths/opportunities, the brochure appeals to different target audiences on a personal level.

**Structure of the Text (Summary):**

- The text is a strategy paper, presented as a brochure, titled “Heart of Amsterdam: future perspectives, 1012”.
- The cover is red, with the title text in white, displaying the city’s colors. It has three vertical x’s in the bottom right corner, which is a recognizable symbol of the city.
- It is divided into 7 sections of text: Background, Existing qualities and new opportunities, A perspective for the city centre, Our procedure, How things will proceed, Viewing the Paper, Finally.
- Each section starts with a short bold introductory paragraph and includes images that accompany the text.
- The images in the text include photographs of different parts of the 1012 area and maps that are used to convey particular information about the region and the reform plans.
- The final page (back cover) presents the symbolic three vertical x’s beside “City of Amsterdam” on the top right of the page. At the bottom left, the web addresses for the city and the iamsterdam portal are provided. On the right, the city’s brand logo is displayed.

In this section, I analyze the first document that was introduced through a link at the bottom of the I amsterdam press release: *Heart of Amsterdam*, subtitled “future perspectives 1012” (van der Heijden, 2008)<sup>16</sup>. Therefore, in a sense, this document can be considered to be part of the same discourse as the press release that I analyzed in the previous section. Of course, we cannot assume that all (or most) of the people who read the first text will download the brochure; however, it is presented on the same webpage, and it is offered as a resource for people who want more information about the topics introduced in the press release. Therefore, we can assume that this document was provided as an elaboration of the press release to the presumed webpage audience, who are simultaneously the target audience for this text. It should also be considered to be part of the administrative/policy discourse, and should be understood as part of the media outreach that is promoting strategic city marketing and branding in Amsterdam. This is because it is presented on the city’s web portal and because it is targeting the general public.

The link on the I amsterdam portal webpage leads to an electronic document that is presented in English (though the credits on the second page of the brochure suggest that it has been translated, at least in part). The translation and presentation of the English brochure on the web portal suggest that it was produced, to some extent, for the international audience that is targeted by the city’s web portal. On the second page, small print also tells readers that the brochure was “developed for the municipal council of Amsterdam” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 2), but this does not clarify if it served another purpose than its use on the city’s promotional/informative web portal.

---

<sup>16</sup> As of July 22, 2015, this document is not available on the I amsterdam web portal. A Dutch version is searchable on [www.amsterdam.nl](http://www.amsterdam.nl), and the English version can still be downloaded through this site (via a Google search), but does not turn up in search results on the website.

The bold introductory paragraph reiterates the aims of the document, to communicate to the public, stating: “Changes are in the pipeline for the centre of Amsterdam. This brochure is intended to inform you about the how and why of future developments in the city centre”, followed with smaller text that exclaims, “If the brochure does not answer all your questions do not hesitate to contact us” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 3)! This is the only text on the first page of the brochure. This conveys the idea that this brochure is primarily intending to communicate with its targeted audience, who are being informed about the reforms in the city center. In other words, it was published for the people of the city, rather than those who are directing the reforms. Moreover, it attributes value to the readers’ situations and their perspectives, constructing a dialogue between the audience and the text; it situates the readers as active participants, with the opportunity to interact and engage with the discourses and strategies of reform that are contained within the pages of the brochure.

The next page of the brochure begins with a boldface paragraph under the heading “Background” that explains:

It is the city’s centre, together with the red-light district, that gives Amsterdam its image of a tolerant, contrary and liberal city. Liberty above all things! Let a thousand flowers bloom (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4)!

This over-general (and somewhat vague) paragraph occupies the top left corner of the page, while the right half of the page contains a simplified image of a map of central Amsterdam (*see* Appendix B, 4.2 1). Although the statement is brief, it refers to elements of the city that readers are expected to identify with: the city’s renowned Red Light District, its unique and tolerant identity and its association with tulips<sup>17</sup>.

The map is also vague and implies the reader will know the general structure of the city or this is not important. It simply reveals the main spatial forms in the city center, which include the city’s canals, indicated in blue, larger streets, which appear in white and blocks of buildings and land, which are brown. Most noticeably, at least insofar as they appear out of place, on top of this representation of the city, we see red splotches placed on top of certain locations, with some more opaque than others. Beneath the map, we can read the following caption, which describes what this map illustrates: “Concentration of businesses subject to criminal influences” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4). The map is problematic for a number of reasons. Primarily, it assumes that readers will recognize the spatial structure of the city and will realize that first, it is an image of central Amsterdam, and then, they will understand its implications, and they will realize that the red is most prominent in the areas where certain businesses are prevalent. Even if readers are familiar with Amsterdam, there is still a problem with a lack of information to support the representations. Thus,

---

<sup>17</sup> The tulip has become associated with Amsterdam, which offers visitors a tulip museum that informs them of the history of the flower in the country. The Netherlands is responsible for more than 53% of the world’s flower bulb production and more than 80% of flower bulb export (Hollandtrade.com, 2013).

from the start, the discourse on Amsterdam's image appears to correspond with strategic imperatives. This becomes explicit in the introductory text, which reiterates a tension between the previous descriptions of Amsterdam (i.e. as a tolerant, contrary and liberal city, and the image that is based on the city center and the Red Light District) by following this with a divergent introductory statement:

There is more to it than meets the eye, however. The area has a criminal infrastructure that feeds off a whole range of local industries including brothels, smart shops, souvenir shops, foreign exchange bureaux, gambling halls, coffee shops, minimarts, peep shows as well as hotels, restaurants and cafes (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4).

The Coalition Project 1012 is presented as the rational solution to a problematic situation that requires attention and intervention. It is suggested that this was demonstrated in the Van Traa Commission's 2007 parliamentary report "Limits to Law Enforcement", which revealed the urgency of dismantling the organizational structures that were conducive to criminality (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4). The document refers to the parliamentary report in order to support its current claims that the situation needs to be addressed. It then identifies the problem that it intends to solve in order to improve the situation. From the perspective of the text, it is necessary to deal with the organizations that are responsible for criminal activities in the city. Explicitly, readers are told that criminal organizations are the sources of the problems, and they need to be dealt with in order to improve the city center. However, while the text implies that current law enforcement is limited and incapable of dealing with the problematic situation (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4), the focus turns towards interventions in the infrastructure in the city center. It becomes apparent that criminality is not the only concern, and another element of strategic intervention emerges as a focal point and priority. The first paragraph that addresses the City's intentions and plans explains:

Our aim is to set in motion improvements in quality and to simultaneously upgrade the visitor approach area to Amsterdam. The city centre is important for Amsterdam's image and general appeal and it should be attractive to residents, visitors and entrepreneurs. Visitors to Amsterdam should be impressed by it being one of the most exciting, most varied and most interesting centres in Europe (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4).

There is no direct reference to the strategy for reducing criminal activities or dismantling an infrastructure that is conducive to criminal activities. Instead, the discussion of the plans directs readers' attention towards developments and plans to enhance the city center, often in terms of a concept of quality. Furthermore, by describing the plans in relation to the visitor approach, the brochure highlights the city's global outlook. Although it mentions that it should be attractive to residents, it is clear that the focus is on other groups, and the City aims to compete with other cities in Europe. There is a reference to the Coalition Project 1012 Strategy paper, which is also presented as a plan for improving the quality of the city, and it is mentioned that the appendices of this document "set out future impressions for an economic vision for the area" (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4). Even if the reader does not refer to the appendix to see what these impressions entail, it is already

apparent that the City has developed an agenda that is highly economically motivated; moreover, this is founded upon a specific perspective and framing of the infrastructural organization and regulation of the area. If we look at the discourse on reform and development, we can also see that the general intentions are broadly defined in terms of the concept of quality. This is first described in relation to the aim of setting “in motion improvements in quality”, which is associated with upgrading certain spaces in the city center. Later, the strategy paper is introduced as describing the City’s “plans for improvements in quality” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4). At this point, we can see that this concept relates to notions of intervention for the intention of improvement, and this is linked to an economic imperative. As we will see, quality is a concept that appears numerous times in this document, and it is conceptualized differently in different policies that all contribute to the discourse of reform. Quality was also a key term in the headline of the press release that I analyzed in the previous section, so the reiteration of this concept emphasizes its centrality in this discourse of reform.

After the reference to the Strategy Paper, this section concludes with a presentation of the City’s aims, as follows:

In summary, we have five concrete aims:

1. We want to dismantle the criminal infrastructure.
2. We want to reduce the number of businesses that are subject to criminal influences.
3. We want to put a stop to the neglect and decay of the centre and turn it around.
4. We want to restore balance to the businesses the area.
5. We want to realize a varied and high quality image for the city approach area (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4).

These are clear objectives for the reforms in the area, and they start by constructing certain people, businesses and spaces as problematic and in need of reform. In other words, the first three aims refer to “intervention in the existing infrastructure” that was presented as necessary a few paragraphs earlier (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4). It was also explained that these interventions would occur in tandem with processes that intended to enhance the quality of the city center, and this is what is referred to in the subsequent aims. The fourth and fifth aims follow from here, conceivably introducing strategies that will not only counter- or turn around- the previously mentioned problems, but will be strategies to restore and renew an enhanced city center. These final aims describe the “improvements in quality” that the plans for the city entail. It is interesting to note that the fourth aim applies the word “restore” to its intention, which suggests that this balance was lost, but it can be achieved again in the future. The final aim is more directly related to plans for change, and specifically the overarching agenda to improve perceptions of quality in the city. Here, quality is described in terms of the city’s image, and it seems to be related to the perspectives of visitors, as the aim specifically refers to the city’s approach area. At this point, the concept of quality is not explicitly defined, but it is linked to the image of the city, which is to say how it appears to potential targets of the reforms. This is reinforced by the fact that it is referred to in relation to the city’s approach area,

where potential visitors will first enter the city. It is also relevant to strategies for improving the city's image and presenting a "varied and high quality" city center, in an economic sense.

One of the ways that information is conveyed in this document is through images that accompany the text. Throughout my analysis, I pay careful attention to the images that are included in the document because these have been selected to represent particular aspects of the city and to illustrate elements of the reform agenda. While CDA has predominantly been used to describe written texts, Fairclough's three-dimensional approach has also been applied to the analysis of images (Wang, 2014, pp. 268-9). Thus, I continue my analysis with a close description of the images, considering why they were included within the publication and how they will be/are intended to be interpreted by particular target audiences. This leads to my explanation of how the images relate to social practices and particular ideals and perspectives.

The next page of the document offers a full-page image of a street in the center of the Red Light District, as it appeared at the time of publication (*see* Appendix B, 4.2 2). There is no caption provided with the image, but the image is identifiable as part of the city's central red light district. While the pedestrians in this image appear to be walking towards the viewer, the viewer's gaze is immediately drawn down the street, directed towards the largest, lightest building, which becomes an unavoidable focal point of the image. This building displays an expansive sign that advertises "Chicita's SEX Paradys" below red block letters that display a single word "sexshop" across two windows just above. This signals the gaze to recognize the similar words, "sex shop" displayed in bright yellow writing set on a black sign that hangs off of another shop window along the right hand street. The other shops and windows do not grab viewers' attention as instantaneously or dramatically, however, a quick scan out from the center is natural, as one is inclined to let one's eyes follow the flow of pedestrian traffic. This perspective reveals images and advertisements that can be associated with snack shops and other signs that indicate pubs and, perhaps upon a closer examination, (or for those who are familiar with the scene) soft drug cafes.

In the context of this document, following the introductory section, we can assume that this image represents an area that is conducive to criminality. On the previous page, it was explained that businesses relating to prostitutes windows and coffeeshops are not only subject to the problems that are inherent in the current infrastructure, but they purportedly "go too far" (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4). Additionally, this image exemplifies the lack of diversity and the imbalance that was described in relation to the businesses in the Red Light District, so it justifies the plans to introduce the desired diversity into this area.

While the image corresponds with the perspective that frames the problems and justification for the strategic imperatives for the city, it does not present the complete picture that is conveyed through the discourse of intervention and reform. This is to say that this image only illustrates part of the City's intended perspective. For example, I would argue that this image does not present this street in a way that implies that residents or visitors feel unsafe or unwelcome. It is also only one

street in the context of the reforms. Furthermore, in the image, we see diverse individuals engaging with the space, and we can only assume that some are locals, international residents and also visitors, of various ages and ethnicities. From this perspective, we can question the concept of diversity that is prioritized in the City's agenda. While the plans intend to achieve more diversity in the businesses in the city center, this is defined based on a concept of quality that gauges businesses and their perceived socio-economic potential for the area. Thus, it is essential to question if such interventions- framed in terms of quality- will have an impact on the socio-economic, as well as the everyday life of this area.

The next section of the document begins on the following page. The title reads "Existing qualities and new opportunities". Here we see another use of the word quality, which is now used to refer to the city's attributes. Interestingly, in this context, this concept does not directly relate to plans for change or interventions in the city; instead, it is linked to existing aspects of the city that are designated as "qualities". These qualities correspond with what Trip describes as the aspects of the city that are difficult to define but are especially important in terms of a city's quality of life. These include authenticity, tolerance and the general atmosphere of the city (Trip, 2007). While it might be difficult to specify what qualities give Amsterdam its unique urban identity, it is likely that these qualities will be presented in a way that supports the plans for developing and enhancing the city. Therefore, it is important to look at how these qualities contribute to the discourse of reform and to question if they will undergo changes. It is also important to look at how the discourse identifies and represents particular aspects of the city.

Like the previous section, this one begins with a bold paragraph that sharply contradicts some of the key points that were made in the previous section. It states, "the heart of Amsterdam is alive: it is unique and dynamic. It is one of the most beautiful, largest and best kept city centres in the world" (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 6). This introductory paragraph is vague, and perhaps it is only meant to introduce the subsequent discussion; yet, it is a clear departure from the prior section, which described the city center in a state of neglect and decay (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4). Although it was acknowledged that renovations and improvements were underway, this differs drastically from an assertion that the center of Amsterdam is among the best kept in the world. Nonetheless, at this point, we can identify a distinct and extreme shift in this discourse, and suddenly the city is presented in a new light. We no longer perceive the city in relation to the criminal infrastructure that was introduced in the previous section.

The section begins with a description of the qualities of "the heart of Amsterdam":

It boasts streets and alleyways full of character, as well as fascinating canals and historic buildings. There are interesting churches and museums and a huge diversity of cafés, restaurants and small shops. The city centre has always been a special place (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 6).

From this point forward, the representations of Amsterdam correspond with the ideal future of the city that is constructed through the policy/administrative discourse. This statement presents a



particular image of the city that is supposed to appeal to a specific audience. It draws from the ideas that were presented in *Choosing Amsterdam*, for example, referring to the city's canals, which the consultants and residents both acknowledged were Amsterdam's strongest dimension (Berenschot, 2003). It also highlights the city's diversity in terms of buildings and business, which were areas that are targeted for improvement and are supposed to attract new businesses and visitors. The intention is link Amsterdam's idealized future image with dimensions of the city that are already strong, in the process of socio-spatial reform.

The second paragraph of this section is subtitled "Variety", which was another aspect of the city that was highlighted in *Choosing Amsterdams*. Thus, one might expect to find an elaboration of the City's intention to promote variety and diversity in the city. The paragraph is short, and it begins with a reiteration of the City's overarching objective: "The Amsterdam city council wants to give the centre a quality boost". This is explained as followed:

To this aim we are putting forward proposals that will increase the diversity and variety of the city centre and make it more attractive to a broader public. We intend to improve upon the existing strengths of the area and endeavor to restore proper balance between the different businesses (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 6).

Again, the concept of quality is at the center of strategic intervention. In this case, the objective is to enhance the quality of the city center through attracting a broader public to this area. It is suggested that strategically altering the balance of businesses in the city center is an effective approach for increasing the area's diversity and variety. However, we do not receive information about what kind of diversity and variety is desirable.

If we reconsider the earlier discussion, along with the first image of the street in the Red Light District, we can imagine kinds of diversity and variety that were already absent and present in both the discourse and the context of interest. Initially, the city center was introduced as an area that had too many local businesses that were involved in a criminal infrastructure or conducive to criminality, such as brothels and sex shops, minimarts, gambling halls, exchange bureaus, tourist shops, cafés and coffeeshops among others. To emphasize this point, a visual representation was introduced that displayed a Red Light District street that is lined with these businesses, intending to confirm their prevalence in this part of the city. This image also displays various individuals in the city, who seem to come from different situations and backgrounds (i.e. different ages, genders, nationalities, etc.), comfortably enjoying the city's space in their individual and interactive ways. Thus, the supposed concentration of certain kinds of business are connected by links that are imposed upon them by a discourse of criminality and then a subsequent discourse of intervention and reform; yet, we can also recognize forms of diversity and variety in the heterogeneity of social life and the every day practices within these city spaces. Since it is clear that the discourse of reform aims to increase diversity and variety, we can conclude that these relate to the businesses that are

overrepresented in the images and not the individuals, who are counterintuitive to the purported lack of diversity in this area.

Alongside the discussion on diversity and variety, there are additional images, which introduce drastically different pictures of Amsterdam than the previous representation of the Red Light District street. Whereas the previous page contained one full-page image that intended to convey a particular message, this page contains three smaller images, alongside the text, which correspond with the concept of “variety”. Each image is paired with a short caption, which directs readers’ perceptions of the images. This is clearly intentional since the captions are not obviously descriptive; instead, they inscribe a sort of meaning onto the image.

The first image is described as “City neighbourhood” (see Appendix B, 4.2 3). Whereas most of the text has focused on interventions related to improving the variety and balance in the businesses in the city center, this image represents another important aspect of the reform, the residential life of the city. The majority of the changes are not directed towards the city’s residential population, but as we saw in the city marketing discourse, residents are an important target group for development and reform strategies. Not only do residents promote certain images of the city, but they also embody city life in their everyday practices, and we see this in the representation of a city center neighborhood. In the frame of this image, viewers see a cobblestone street, typical of those that line Amsterdam’s central canals, and the focus is on a group of children who all hold brightly colored balloons. There is one adult who is featured in the shot, and she seems to be leading the children, who are turned in her direction. We might assume they are school children, taking a walk through the streets. There are only a few other people scattered in the background, including city workers, who are identifiable in their neon orange uniforms. The overall image presents the city as peaceful, clean and residential, with cars and canal houses also visible in the background.

The second image on the page is described as “Unique identity” (see Appendix B, 4.2 4). This image offers a picture that is linked to the previous image from the center of the Red Light District because it is clearly set in this part of the city. However, the accompanying text in this section and the caption for the image frame this image and the scene more positively. When one first glances at this image, the lighting and color scheme lead the viewer to notice a group of women who are walking along a street, passed a brightly lit shop and an alleyway. The women appear to be focal points because they are all wearing vibrant pink shirts and lighter pink cowgirl hats. Upon closer inspection, we can also notice a man who is positioned closer to the camera, standing across from the alleyway that runs perpendicular from the ladies’ path; he could be seen to be looking into the shop window, which advertises sexy clothing and perhaps other sex-related items, or he might be watching the women as they walk by, as he makes his way towards the side street, which the viewer can identify as part of the city’s Red Light District. This picture does not offer the close perspective of the area that was provided in the first image of this part of the city; nevertheless, it is apparent that the street is lined with neon signs and is densely populated with various passersby. Some of the pedestrians

appear to be passing through, while some look like observers, perhaps drawn to the windows that are outlined by the red lights that the viewer will likely associate with the renowned attraction of brothels in this part of the city. If we step back from this image and again broaden our perspective, it becomes interesting for comparison with the first representation of the sex industry and in relation to the caption that is provided for this image. From the perspective of this document, it seems that this image offers a more desirable view of the city's sex industry and illustrates the city's "unique identity".

Therefore, I will first analyze how this image conveys the city's identity as unique through the discourse of the document. It immediately draws viewers into the image through the women, who are dressed in bright pink outfits. It is likely that many readers will assume that these women are participating in a hen party based on their outfits, which are typical for such an occasion. Amsterdam has become widely known to be a favorite location for its hen and stag parties through tourist guides (Zimmerman, 2013), novels (Park, 2012) and scholarship (Yeoman, 2012, p. 124). This is largely due to the Red Light District's trendy, sexual and liberal atmosphere. All of these attributes contribute to its "unique identity", so this is one reason this image might have been chosen for this section of the document. Interestingly, the Red Light District is frequently associated with stag parties, which are the male equivalent of hen parties, since men are drawn to the Red Light District specifically for the women in the windows. However, this is commonly negatively portrayed as part of the problem that needs to be addressed and is also associated with some of the immorality attached to the sex work industry. For example, in *Time Out Amsterdam* (2005), an informative city guide for English speakers, we read "sleaze and stag parties dominate this strip, with it all becoming unpleasant and busy on weekends" (Korver, p. 87). Thus, while women also enjoy the erotic offerings and liberal atmosphere of the area, men are particularly known to go to this area to celebrate a husband-to-be's last nights of freedom before his wedding, and stag parties are often perceived negatively. The choice to include the image that features women was probably conscious; it highlights the area's unique identity but does not focus on what may be perceived as negative about the Red Light District, for example the commoditized sexuality or the heteronormative landscape of prostitution, where men purchase sex from women or enjoy window shopping in the Red Light District (Aalbers 2005, p. 54).

From another perspective, the image appears counterintuitive since it presents women who are dressed the same, while it intends to illustrate the idea of a "unique identity". Thus, it seems to refer to the city, which frames the subjects of the image. If it is true, as stated, that the intention is to make the city center "more attractive to a broader public", this image might be seen as a justification for this imperative, while the background of the image (i.e. the sex shops and brothel windows) represent the elements of Amsterdam's "unique identity".

The third image is described as "Metropolis" (see Appendix B, 4.2 5). Like the captions for the other images, this is an ambiguous term that has been applied to the representation of a scene from the city center. The term *metropolis* is typically used to refer to urban places, usually cities;

frequently, a metropolis is understood as a central or main city in a region. Amsterdam can be considered a metropolis in the Netherlands, as the capital city, and as part of the metropolitan region of the Randstad<sup>18</sup>, where it is an urban hub; and, the city center is a metropolis within the greater Amsterdam area. Regardless of the specific meanings that people attribute to the word, it will be associated with aspects of city life; similarly, we can assume that a representation of Amsterdam as a “metropolis” intends to illustrate urban qualities that enable viewers to identify the city as an urban center. Turning to the image, viewers see the main subjects of the photograph, who resemble a family of four- a male and female adult and two younger boys - who are observing something beyond the frame of the image. The rest of the photograph displays an open square within the city. Residents or visitors and those who are familiar with the city will recognize the setting of the scene as Dam Square, where part of the Royal Palace is located and featured in the left quarter of the image, next to the Nieuwe Kerk. On the surface, this visual representation introduces the city as an urban center that revolves around its clean, hospitable public spaces, which have solid historical and cultural foundations. If we look a bit further into the implications of this scene, certain paradoxes come to light, which confront viewers who are familiar with this part of the city. Firstly, it is worth considering the relationship between the city’s image as a metropolis in a global sense and its relationship to the Netherlands, when we acknowledge the contextualization of the Royal Palace in the image. The presentation of the vast open space, with the historical palace and church also display elements of the city that represent one of the key aspects of Amsterdam’s “quality of place” that scholars have identified as crucial and perhaps the most difficult to capture and introduce through policies for socio-cultural economic development: authenticity (Trip, 2007b, p. 82). This relates to the identity and uniqueness of a place that is expressed through the combination of a city’s history and its contemporary life, as well as its everyday scene that is expressed through the built environment of the city, its streets and its sounds (Baycan, 2011, p. 27). In this image, we see pedestrians passing through a large square that is in the center of the city, where numerous pedestrians cross paths everyday, making their way through the city. The open space is framed by two of the city’s iconic historical buildings, which allude to the history of the Dutch monarchy and religion in the Netherlands, which has undergone drastic secularization since the mid-twentieth century. For example, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (2009) documented that between 1958 and 2001 the percentage of people who identified as religious dropped from 80% to 58%, with only 22% of the population describing themselves as active churchgoers (p. 17). Nevertheless, these buildings signify the authentic cultural heritage that is built into the life of the city, as everyday life continues in the bustling metropolis.

---

<sup>18</sup> Randstad: This is the conurbation of the four largest cities in the Netherlands, comprised of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht and surrounding areas.

Following the three images that visually represent the qualities and opportunities for the city, the pamphlet continues with a section titled, “A perspective for the city centre” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 7). This section offers an overview of the City’s “vision for the future of the city centre”, based on the intended outcomes for the “desired spatial infrastructure and inviting impressions of future functions”, as these were presented in the more detailed Strategy Paper (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 7). While these are acknowledged as still in their developmental stages, and it is suggested that residents and entrepreneurs will have opportunities to contribute to the developmental processes, it is also explained that the appendix to the strategy paper clearly demonstrates: “the direction in which we are heading and also what we do not want in this area” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 7). This implies that there is an explicit agenda that has already designated certain interventions in terms of their positive and negative outcomes for the city’s future image and identity; thus, with the plans for development, we can assume that there will also be strategies to displace and exclude elements that are deemed negative in the reform context.

The first vision for the future is described under the heading “Unique appeal” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 7). Again, the emphasis is placed on the City’s desire to distinguish Amsterdam through these interventions. In this section, the focus is on the Damrak/Rokin area, which is described as “the most metropolitan part of the city centre. It is here we see Amsterdam as a true metropolis” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 7). There are clear references to the images and captions on the previous page, directing how readers interpret the representations of the city. The subheading of the section refers to the previous caption that represented a positive image of Amsterdam as a unique city. This introduction to the reforms more explicitly presents the city’s central streets, which lead to and from the Dam Square (presented with the caption “Metropolis” on the previous page), in coinciding terms that enhance this vision of the city center. Then, readers learn of the City’s intentions for the redevelopment of these streets, which is based on the ambition “to have it develop into an international retail centre”:

There will be first-rate hotels and shops that offer high quality products. The Damrak will offer the public a wide range of high street shops appealing to many tastes. The shops on Rokin Street will offer exclusive products that satisfy the higher end of the market. Those looking for quality will have their needs satisfied with exclusive fashion, media and lifestyle products. On the western side our aim is to relise improvements in the quality of existing retail outlets (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 7).

These plans present another example of how quality is prioritized in this discourse of reform. Here, the term is used clearly, describing the caliber of products, which are also associated with descriptive terms that include “first-rate”, “exclusive” and “higher end”. Thus, while the redevelopment plan will make quality establishments and products more widely available in the city center, the term itself implies a form of exclusivity. There are different ways that quality, as a designation, signifies places, objects and even people, through discursively constructing and implementing categories. The most obvious way that quality becomes exclusive relates to its economic implications, when it becomes a

measure of accessibility to certain products and places within the city. In other words, higher quality products and services are more expensive, so certain people can access them, while other people are unable to afford them, and they are ultimately excluded from places that do not offer affordable options. This does not only apply to consumers of the different shops and services, but it also impacts, perhaps on a deeper level, the individuals who work and live in these parts of the city. Since the reforms are replacing lower quality and less desirable businesses with higher quality establishments, certain businesses, workers or residents might be forced to relocate, perhaps because the City enforces zoning plans that displace them or when their services are no longer desired or compatible with the changing socio-cultural landscape in which they are positioned (Sabat, 2012, pp. 138-9). Additionally, some residents might be forced to leave if the area becomes too expensive as a result of the economic upgrade.

The next section describes plans under the heading “Cozy and adventurous”, and the discussion begins with an introduction to the Red Light District:

The red-light district's network of canals and narrow streets make it a district with a cosy atmosphere. In our minds, the red-light district should retain the combination of residential and office buildings with night-life; a mix of chic and shady. The prostitution that is so characteristic of this area will remain in part, but without the crime that is all too present (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 7).

This introduction finally refers to the intention to increase the diversity and versatility of businesses and services in the area alongside plans to improve their quality. However, if we consider the different elements that are presented, it still appears limited. It also constructs a dichotomy presented as “chic and shady” (which corresponds to the temporal distinction that is implied to resist a spatial confrontation between residential and office buildings on the one hand, and night-life on the other). Thus, while this is described as mixed, it is presented as a space where interactions and experiences are dependent on situations in both time and space. Interestingly, when the document elaborates on the redevelopment plans for this area, it focuses on the daytime activities and does not return to the issue of crime reduction or the concentration of less desirable businesses that were raised earlier:

The shops, galleries and museums, cafés and restaurants intended for this area will appeal to visitors who are looking for an adventurous day out. This cosy district blends into the metropolitan Damrak and Rokin Streets in the transition area around the Beursplein. We believe it is important that a growing number of visitors, as well as Amsterdam residents, come and experience the beauty and vitality of the red-light district. This is why connections between east and west must be improved (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 7).

This section also refers to the desire to address problems of neglect and decay in this area and improve the quality and variety of businesses in the Red Light District, reflecting the stated intentions described at the start of the document. It is explained:

Our strategy of choice consists of reinforcement, conversion and addition. The pioneering businesses that are already present in the area will be reinforced, as will existing strengths. Pioneers attract new visitors to the area, giving other entrepreneurs new opportunities (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 7).

In the following sections, improvements are described in terms of the spatial infrastructure of the area to the east of the Rokin. The plans intend to attract different groups of people to the city and to transform the way that people experience this part of the city in terms of accessibility and movement through the narrow lanes. The aim is to create a clean, safe and hospitable environment: “The ‘Heart of Amsterdam’ should be an area where everyone feels welcome” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 8). While it briefly mentions that better law enforcement will be necessary to ensure the improvements succeed, this is not explained. The focus turns to “Economic perspectives” and the Amsterdam’s municipal council’s findings that expansion and redevelopment were necessary to avoid difficulties in the future. However, it only states that the council intends to take action to “make use of” the city’s existing opportunities to benefit from its economic potential.

A map is then presented to illustrate fourteen “possible areas of development”, representing how specific ideals might be structured into the social life and space of the city center (*see* Appendix B, 4.2 6). Like the first map in this brochure, this map provides a general representation of the city center. Different colored shapes are drawn on top of regions of the city to illustrate the potential areas for improvement. Above the map, a key explains what the different colors signify. Some of the areas are much larger than others, and a closer look at the spaces and their labels reveals that certain areas intend to symbolize attributes of the city’s image, through an association with a particular area or socio-spatial situation within the city. These are areas that have been identified as places that could benefit from specific kinds of intervention, but which are simultaneously places that can be presented in terms of their existing strengths and/or potential opportunities that are expressed through this representation. In contrast with the other maps that are offered in the brochure, which offer less information about the socio-spatial functions of the areas of reform, this map projects social life onto the areas of reform. It also contextualizes particular activities within the areas that are being reformed, enabling us to study them as technologies of the governmentality of reform in the city center. As Foucault explains, a governmentality perspective seeks to analyze power relations as distinct from institutions “and the privilege of the object, so as to resituate them within the perspective of the constitution of fields, domains and objects of knowledge” (Foucault, 2009, p. 118). For example, the first area is described as “living on the canals” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 8), implying that it will be improved in ways that enhance the quality of the residential life in this area. The largest areas relate to travel and “Up-market shopping, attractive street cafés” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 8), suggesting that the reforms are directed towards attracting new people to the city center. The two areas related to the Red Light District are noticeably small compared with the other areas, and one of them is even described as “Small red-light district”, while the other, which is where the city’s main Red Light District is located is described as “adventurous but humanised” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 8). This emphasizes the idea that the City council recognizes the value of retaining certain aspects of this part of the city center but wants readers to recognize that it needs to be reformed because it is not ethical or “human” enough in its current state.

On the following pages, readers learn how the City intends to carry out its plans, through a three-pronged approach that includes nine key projects, improving and using public space and a “street-level approach” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 10). In the following pages, each aspect of the City’s approach is described as a strategy and phase of the agenda for redeveloping the city center. In the section, “First strategy: Key to improvement”, nine key projects around the city are introduced, representing the first phase of intervention that intends to stimulate economic development throughout the city center. An image next to the list of projects illustrates the specific locations of the key projects (*see* Appendix B, 4.2 7).

The document introduces two of the key projects with more detailed descriptions of the plans for the spaces. The first project that is introduced is Oudekerksplein and the second is Beursplein. Each displays a public square (or “plein”), with an explanatory panel of text on the right hand column of the page. In the image of the Oudekerksplein, a prostitute is standing in an open brothel window in the front of the image (*see* Appendix B, 4.2 8). There are only a few other people in the picture, and most of them seem to be walking towards the brothels around the square. This representation of the church emphasizes the fact that it is not achieving its potential in the city center, since it appears to only be significant in the context of the Red Light District. It is described “with the Old Church” to be “one of the pearls of the red-light district”. On the other hand, it is suggested that the area has “lost some of its shine”. As a solution:

Prostitutes’ windows will no longer be welcome. They will be replaced by traditional activities such as arts and crafts, as well as shops, hotels and restaurants, with the Old Church present in the middle as a treasure of cultural heritage. The redesign and improvement of public space will mean that the square and surrounding streets will become a pleasant place in which to pass the time (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 10).

Whereas the description of the Oudekerksplein is quite negative, suggesting that most of the current elements of this area- with the exception of the church- will be removed or reformed, the description of the Beursplein presents a positive and forward looking perspective. The image provided conveys this with a perspective that extends out into the skyline (*see* Appendix B, 4.2 9). The focus remains on the future prospects of this part of the city and does not concern the past or present situation:

The Beursplein has many possibilities to become a beautiful and lively square of great significance for the city centre. The Beurs van Berlage forms the central attraction on the square and provides a number of amenities. Vitality will also be a characteristic of the Euronext building... (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 10).

The description continues to present intentions for shops and restaurants, an underground bicycle and car park, more shops leading towards the Red Light District that will supposedly provide easier routes that are intended to promote access throughout this region and to more of the area’s public attractions; there is even a suggestion of the intention to introduce more residential buildings to this



area. Again, it is explained that the redevelopment plans will make these spaces more accessible to pedestrians who pass through the area daily. The Red Light District is explicitly mentioned, which highlights this particular zone as a priority within the plans. Importantly, this discourse does not only represent the Red Light District as an area within the city that will be redeveloped, but it constructs the Red Light District as a conceptual space, or a place that exists as part of the image and identity of the city. In this sense, it is not only those specific spaces in Red Light District that will undergo reform, and it is not a particular zone that has physical borders, but instead, it exists through images, ideas and experiences of the Red Light District that construct this part of the city socially and spatially, from local and global perspectives.

The next chapter introduces readers to the second strategy, “Redesigning public space” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 12). In this section, readers are introduced to what is considered “the most impressive” redevelopments planned for the city’s public space, “Red Carpet”. The text does not clarify what “Red Carpet” refers to (though it is mentioned once before as one of the “new developments being realised” that is offering “new opportunities” for the city (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 6)). Perhaps readers are presumed to be familiar with the term, which refers to the main road leading into the city from Amsterdam Central Station: Amsterdam’s “red carpet” to its guests. The plans for this area form “an important element in the refurbishment of Amsterdam’s visitor approach area” where “top-notch internationally known retailers as well as high quality hotels, restaurants and cafés” will be introduced (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 12). Again, quality is a priority, and this concept is linked to certain ideals for the area, which include the introduction of well-known brands in fashion, restaurants and retail. The strategy is described as development through reorganization and displacement. This is to say that it is a strategy that determines how space can function optimally within the city and how different people and places will contribute to the strategic redevelopment imperatives. In my third case study, in chapter 5, I introduce and analyze a specific initiative in which certain businesses (brothels) and people (prostitutes) were removed and others (artists/cultural creative industries) were introduced into particular public spaces. At this point, I will suggest that the administrative discourses of reform that I have considered imply this type of socio-spatial exchange, while they do not clarify or justify the exchanges.

The entire bottom of this page presents a photograph of a street in the city center (*see* Appendix B, 4.2 10). It displays one of Amsterdam’s larger canals and numerous pedestrians casually walking along the street. There are no distinctive qualities that define the people walking through the frame, but it is reasonable to assume that many are residents, since they seem to be strolling along and are not portraying any signs that suggest they are visitors (e.g. cameras and backpacks, and they do not seem to be observing the city from an overly engaged, touristic perspective). In the background, we can see multiple buildings with workers busy on scaffolding, and this refers to the ongoing developments that we have read about in the text. There are also numerous windows that have red curtains in them, and these curtains appear to be drawn. On the top of each window, there

is a white piece of paper that is obscured in the photo. One window still has a yellow “SM” sign secured above, and a single pedestrian appears to be gazing to the side, perhaps looking into one of these windows. Everyone else appears to be facing in the direction of their movements, so it is possible that these windows are not grabbing the attention of many passersby. This confirms the assertion that the majority of the passersby are locals, and they are not interested in the brothel windows that they have become accustomed to within the city. Furthermore, in light of the redevelopment plans and the visible work that is taking place in the context of this image, it is likely that the windows that used to serve as brothels have been designated for reform and are in the process of redevelopment. Thus, in this image, we can also suppose that the curtains are drawn because women no longer work in these buildings, and the signs in the windows might be advertising the spaces to businesses or individuals or promoting a future initiative (*see* Appendix B, 4.2 11).

The third strategy, “An approach at street level”, is also presented on one page. A map is presented that illustrates “The streets involved” in the street level approach to redevelopment (*see* Appendix B, 4.2 12). The description of this approach immediately distinguishes it from the other strategies, since it prioritizes issues of criminality:

The priorities within the street-level approach are decided based on the degree to which crime is present in a certain sector. The more we feel crime is present, the more likely we are to implement legal proceedings, such as the zoning plan, to achieve the desired changes. With this in mind, we shall reduce the number of window brothels and coffee shops. By utilizing zoning and reducing the number of businesses in these sectors we should be able to increase the manageability and therefore tackle the criminal infrastructure (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 13).

In this final strategic approach, the discourse on reform can be seen to complete a circle. It returns to the point that was introduced at the beginning of this document and was represented as the primary justification for redevelopment in the city center. The reforms are once again presented as solutions to the city’s criminal infrastructure and strategies for reducing the opportunities for criminal activity. However, the presentation of this strategy after the others leads to questions about whether criminality is represented as the precursor and justification for the socio-spatial and economic reforms or if criminality is strategically used in the discourse of reform in order to achieve certain objectives. In other words, it is unclear if the City council prioritizes crime reduction in its reform agenda or if it is simply using the idea of criminality as a source of legitimation and justification for the reforms. The quote above suggests that opinions about the presence of criminality can justify legal actions in order to “achieve desired goals”. Yet, as we have seen, these goals do not often directly relate to the reduction of crime, at least as much as they relate to the redevelopment of businesses and the residential life of the city center.

It is also explained that when the area is reorganized socially and spatially, it will be easier to regulate and oversee the area and combat a criminal infrastructure. This is a recurring argument in discourses on prostitution and its organization, and it was a key point in the lifting of the brothel ban that legalized prostitution in the Netherlands in 2000 (Hubbard et al., 2008, p. 142). The document

reassures readers with the claim that “the street-level strategy offers clarity for all parties concerned and offers achievable prospects of upgrading the area” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 13). Again, the emphasis is on the way that the reforms will lead to success in terms of economic outcomes, described as upgrades for the area.

The rest of this section proceeds to enhance the perspective that particular aspects of this area need to be changed and removed. The final sections of the document concern “How things will proceed” and emphasize the importance of collaboration between the “various partners and representatives of residents and entrepreneurs” who are invaluable in the final stages of the formulation of the strategy paper that will be presented to the city administrators (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 13). While this remains general, it is not so broad as to refer to the wider public but instead to specific representatives from selected target groups from the wider population. This is why certain people represent residents; and, we can assume that the majority of the entrepreneurs who are represented will be those who run businesses that are beneficial for the city, rather than those that are deemed negative and targeted by the reforms. While this does not mean that other people will not enter the discussion, I would expect their perspectives to come forth later, either in the following phase, when the public has the opportunity to respond to the paper and through their social and spatial practices, as well as through various expressions of resistance that explicitly or implicitly confront the reforms, which I discuss in my subsequent case studies.

The document continues to describe the next phase, scheduled for early in 2009, when “official public participation” is intended, “when all interest groups and other interested parties will have the opportunity to contribute their views” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 13). After the public participation, the paper will be presented to the city administrators for their final approval before it is put forth to the various city committees for their consideration. It is suggested that the Strategy Paper intends to be finalized by the second half of 2009, when the plans can be actively pursued. Readers are informed that “Coalition Project 1012 ‘Heart of Amsterdam’ Strategy Paper” and the appendixes “Economic Vision” and “Future Impressions” are available for public viewing in the Zuiderkerk, which is the information center of the City Hall and at the Neighborhood Information Centrum (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 13). While the strategy paper is also available online for readers to download, they are only informed of the website where they can look for the document. In contrast with the press release, which prompted readers to learn more about project 1012 through this document, this text does not facilitate readers in obtaining the information that it refers to. It also limits the audience that has access to certain documents that are mentioned. The appendices are available in public locations in the city, so they are only accessible to people who can see them in these places. Whereas the text conceivably reached a worldwide audience through the I amsterdam portal, it does not intend to share all of the policy/administrative discourse with this global audience.

The last page of the brochure offers a final overview of the information that was provided in the document. It is worth reading closely, as I believe it reasserts the priorities that are implicit in the

discourse of the document through the concise summary. The heading reads: “The city centre needs upgrading” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 15), and this is the obvious intention of the brochure. It begins with the primary theme of the document, stating, “We want to preserve the attractive parts of the city centre and to improve it in quality wherever possible” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 15). The main part of this text falls under the heading “three strategies”, which are presented in a different order than they were in the document. First, readers are reminded that the street-level approach “will reduce the surplus of businesses subject to criminal influences or of little economic value”; next, it is stated: “We expect the nine key projects in the city centre to have a positive influence on the rest of the area”; finally, it is explained that public spaces will be redesigned to give the city center a “metropolitan allure” to “turn the centre back into the city’s main attraction”(van der Heijden, 2008, p. 15). The final statements reach out to readers, asking for them to participate in the plans to help make it a success. Under the heading of “Pride” It addresses the reader, saying “your council” needs “you, as well as others, to make it a success. Think with us and talk with us” (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 15). Thus, we are left with the impression that this is predominantly intended for a local audience, while most of the reforms are directed to readers outside of Amsterdam.

The document began with an introduction that justified the need for interventions, presenting its plans as the solution to the city’s problems. However, the discourse on reform focused on enhancing the city center and interventions that would benefit the city. While the discourse on Plan 1012 referred to the city’s criminal infrastructure and the plans to pre-emptively reduce criminal activity, it does not actually account for the problem within the city. Organized crime is presented as the result of certain kinds of businesses that are conducive to criminality. From this perspective, the city of Amsterdam and its police and law enforcement are not accountable to the city’s problems because these are defined as inherent to the city’s infrastructure. This represents a strategy that intends to intervene in the spaces of the city center as well as the discursive practices and experiences of the city.

In the first section of this document, for example, the infrastructure of the city center is presented as the justification for intervention, and it is suggested that the City’s inability to fight criminal networks is the reason that reorganization is necessary. However, the document does not present any information about the initial reason that sex work or soft drugs were legalized or tolerated, which relates to a prior imperative of better regulation over these industries. Furthermore, the discourse quickly turns to focus on the ways that its restructuring will enable the City to capitalize through the strategic interventions, suggesting that the plans are less concerned with problems in Amsterdam and more interested in a future economic outlook.

In the next section, I look at a document that also addresses the plans for reforming the 1012 region. However, this text was produced in 2011, two years after the earlier strategy paper and two years after the reforms were intended to be implemented. It offers a perspective that allows us to

reflect on certain interventions that have taken place and to reconsider strategies and approaches towards the city and its future.

---

#### 4.3 *Project 1012: Under Construction*

---

##### **Dimensions of discourse (Overview):**

**1st Text:** The text comes from the brochure “1012 Under Construction” (I amsterdam, 2011). It is an informative document that includes descriptions and images to explain the current situation and plans for the future of the city.

**2nd Discoursal practices** (Production, interpretation): The brochure was commissioned by the municipal council of Amsterdam. It is presented as a brochure for people who want to know more about the changes that are taking place in the city and the plans that will take place in the future. It also invites readers to participate in the discussions about future developments. Information is presented as facts, based on research and interventions that have already succeeded. Images emphasize certain facts that are presented. Most images are accompanied by captions that relate to the way the images are relevant to the text.

**3rd Social practice:** The text appeals to readers to enter into a dialogue with the City. It is about improvements that will change particular spaces and how people will function within these spaces. Through a narrative of security and improvement, it suggests that people will enjoy the city more if certain reforms take place. It implies that certain ways of enjoying the city coincide with safety and quality of life.

##### **Structure of the Text (Summary):**

- Presented as a brochure
- The document is divided into 6 sections: 1) Introduction, 2) Background, 3) Past, present and future, 4) New developments in the area, 5) The approach, 6) In closing.
- Each section is introduced by a bold paragraph, includes at least one photograph and descriptive text.
- The images include pictures that convey the points that are made in the text and maps that illustrate the City’s plans for reform.

Two years after the “Heart of Amsterdam” strategy paper introduced the City’s approach for reforming the city and enhancing the quality of life and space in the center, *Project 1012: Under Construction* was published (I amsterdam, 2011). It was commissioned by the municipal council of Amsterdam as a “brochure” to keep the public informed about what was going on and what was planned for the future (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 2). The text refers to the document as a brochure, which distinguishes this publication from more administrative documents that are presented as policy or strategy papers, or online media texts such as press releases. The presentation of information in this format is less formal and appears more directed towards a general public. This corresponds with the subsequent overview of the document, which first offers readers a brief reflection on the reasons

for the 1012 project, “followed by an update on the positive developments, both large and small, that have been set in motion in this area since the start of the project”(I amsterdam, 2011, p. 2). From the first page, it is clear that this document intends to present the reforms in a positive light. From the start, we can expect to read about where the City has succeeded in its strategies for reform and development. Failed attempts or ongoing interventions will likely be excluded from the brochure.

The introductory paragraph tells us that the section about the “approach” refers to the different methods that are being used to implement changes in the city center. Finally, we are told that the document concludes with information about how readers can “join in the discussions about the developments” since “the municipal council places great importance on consultations with residents and proprietors in the area” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 2). The first page is brief, but it says enough to presume that readers might already be interested and perhaps engaged. This is implied by the immediate invitation for readers to interact with the municipal council and the additional resources for information that are offered below the introductory text (Would you like to know more? Visit our website: [www.1012.amsterdam.nl](http://www.1012.amsterdam.nl) (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 2)), as opposed to at the end of the document, which is commonly where these pieces of information are provided.

The short introduction first explains the municipal council’s aims associated with criminality and then presents intentions for socio-economic development in the area:

The Amsterdam municipal council’s 1012 project aims to discourage crime and corruption in the city centre by reducing the types of businesses that are conducive to crime and by permitting prostitution in just two areas. Together with local residents, business proprietors and investors, the municipal council is working to strengthen the area’s unique character and stimulate an economic upgrade (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 3).

The first sentence refers to the council’s strategy for combatting the problem that it is described as a main reason for the necessary reforms in the city center. In this sentence, the text introduces the problems of crime and corruption into the discourse on reform and describes the City’s solutions of reducing particular kinds of businesses and further constraining the locations of prostitution. The sentence distinguishes between businesses that are conducive to crime and prostitution, subtly implying a distinction. While they are both deemed problematic in relation to the City’s reform agenda, the implication is that prostitution is not necessarily addressed like the other criminogenic businesses. Nevertheless, it is associated with these businesses in the discourse on reforms, linking it to criminality in this area. The second sentence suggests that numerous people in the city are collaborating with the municipal council in their socio-economic upgrade agenda. The sentence is written with the residents introduced first, followed by business owners, then investors and finally the municipal council, which diverts readers’ attention away from the fact that the municipal council is leading the intervention. Instead, the emphasis turns towards the idea that locals and business owners are also involved in the current reforms, as well as the parties that would be expected to take active roles in the interventions.

Under this paragraph, there is a picture of the Warmoesstraat (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 1), alongside a quote from Eberhard van der Laan, the Mayor of Amsterdam. In the quote, the Mayor explains his ongoing involvement in the City's approach to "tackling the problems in the Wallen" (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 3). He continues:

A lot has happened already, partly thanks to the 1012 project. We've made great strides, using an almost 'un-Amsterdam' approach. But we've still got a long way to go and as Mayor, I'm pleased to be able to do my bit (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 3).

The Mayor's quote is only accompanied by the bold introductory text. The quote reflects the important role that city officials have taken in the 1012 project, referring to the strategy as "almost un-Amsterdam" in its approach. This is left ambiguous, allowing readers to attribute meaning to the un-Amsterdam aspects of the strategy. This discursive strategy enables readers to agree with the Mayor and his idea of the city and disagree with aspects of the strategy, thereby identifying with the administrative discourse on reform and its intentions to reform particular aspects associated with the image and identity of the city.

The picture that accompanies the quote displays the Warmoesstraat, a main pedestrian street in the city center, where different people are seen walking on the street and on both sidewalks. The people appear young, and a woman and child are in the front and center of the photograph. There are bikes parked in the frame of the image, but we do not see any bikers riding on this street, which is a pedestrian zone. Although it is difficult to determine most of the businesses that are operating on the street, we can see a café and a take away shop, along with multi-colored flags that symbolize the City's (and establishments') tolerance towards homosexuality. The street does not appear crowded, and it does not look dirty or dangerous.

In the next section, "Background", the boldface introductory paragraph begins with the statement: "Despite the exciting, unconventional, 'anything goes' image of the city centre, a different reality lurks in the background" (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 3). The picture that accompanies the text presents a snapshot that is described with the caption "stag party", which suggests that it refers to Amsterdam's "unconventional, 'anything goes' image" (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 2). The picture initially seems out of place in the context of this page, as the information provided in this section refers back to the "different reality that lurks in the background":

A reality consisting of sex trafficking, forced prostitution, and money-laundering operations; a reality caused by the concentration of brothels, smart shops, coffee shops, souvenir shops, foreign exchange bureaux, gambling halls, minimarts, peep shows, massage parlours and low-quality hotels, bars and restaurants (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 3).

The presentation of the image, beneath the textual description of an alternate reality, actually illustrates the main point of this section. It emphasizes the fact that we see one thing, and yet another thing happens simultaneously. In the image, we see people enjoying the city in a way that is obviously out of the ordinary. They do not seem aware of their surroundings or interested in what is going on

around them. A stag party exemplifies a situation in which men come to the city to enjoy Amsterdam's unique environment, including what is offered in the Red Light District. In this case, the men comprise one of many groups of visitors to the city center who enjoy the range of establishments that are referred to in the quote above; they experience particular alternative industries as positive elements of Amsterdam's culture and atmosphere and do not perceive these in terms of their links or vulnerability to criminality.

The text goes on to refer to a parliamentary report from 2007, "Limits to Law Enforcement; New Ambitions for the Wallen", which suggested that problems in the area should be addressed by dealing with a criminal infrastructure. In other words, the report designated certain businesses as conducive to organized crime and more susceptible to the influence of criminal networks. Moreover, it suggested that the presence of such businesses had negative implications for the everyday life and environment of this part of the city. It was deemed insufficient to address the city's networks of organized crime with law enforcement strategies. Criminality was associated with particular kinds of businesses and the people and activities that were attracted to and associated with these businesses. The report concluded that it would be productive to dismantle the city's "criminal infrastructure" by reducing the presence of businesses that were conducive to criminal influences (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 3). This is the basis of the approach that is presented in the Strategy Paper that I analyzed in the previous section. This "background" section concludes by informing readers that "the plans are currently well underway" and: "We expect the transformation of this area to take at least ten years" (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 3). Thus, it is clear that this document intends to present the progress in its early stages, only two years since the plans were initiated.

The third section serves as a transition in the brochure, linking the previous sections to the later sections with the heading "Past, present and future". The bold text beneath this heading tells readers: "The heart of Amsterdam has many qualities. New opportunities are setting in place a future for the city centre" (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 4). The text begins with an introduction to Amsterdam's historic city center, telling readers that it is one of the world's most beautiful and well preserved.

Every day, tens of thousands of tourists and day-trippers wander through the characteristic streets and back lanes in search of interesting shops, cosy bars and great restaurants. The historic buildings attract a wide range of people from around the world, and give us a glimpse of the city's rich historic past (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 4).

After this positive reflection on the city center in terms of its past, the perspective shifts to address the present situation. While the history is set aside, it becomes clear that in spite of the facts that are stated in the first paragraph, changes are still necessary. Specifically, the municipal council is focusing on improving the "quality of the inner city" (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 4). This intention was described in the Strategy Paper that was presented in 2009, where proposals were introduced for "achieving a better balance between different types of businesses and emphasizing the area's best aspects" (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 4). These imperatives do not necessarily contradict the idea that the history of



the city center remains valuable, but the developments that are highlighted in the brochure direct attention away from the significance of the city's historical qualities.

The two images that are presented in this section illustrate the contemporary quality of particular spaces in the city center. In the top picture, we see two men “setting up an exhibition in W139”, which we can assume will be a (temporary) studio or event space in de Wallen (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 3). The bottom image displays a “sex shop on Damstraat” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 4) (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 4). The photograph was taken from inside the shop, revealing a sampling of merchandise on display and the door that is open to the street, where we can observe passersby. The sex shop is obviously a clean, well-kept establishment, and the open door suggests that it welcomes the public. From the visible displays, the shop appears to offer high quality lingerie and accessories. These two images are accompanied by texts, which are presented under the heading “Stylish and exciting”. Here, we read: “The Wallen area will retain its special character- with its network of canals and lanes- but without the darker side”. This will be achieved through becoming “an appealing cocktail of style and excitement, so partly ‘red-light district’, but at the same time an inviting neighbourhood for everyone who wants to explore the shops, galleries, museums, restaurants, trendy eateries and old-style ‘brown cafés” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 4). While it is apparent that certain aspects of this area are recognized for their significance in the city center, it is also clear that the plan is to integrate the old features of the area into a strategy for enhancing this part of the city. This can be seen in the representation of the high-end sex shop, which represents an ideal for the sex businesses that will remain in this area and symbolize the city's liberal and permissive quality in through a redeveloped Red Light District. Both images also represent the City's objective of attracting new kinds of visitors and prompting “further opportunities for other business proprietors” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 4), for example through introducing new/temporary spaces that accommodate cultural and creative industries.

The following section, “New developments in the area”, introduces specific projects and plans that have begun since the introduction of the 2009 Strategy Paper. A map is presented that displays where certain projects/organizations/buildings are located in the city (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 5). This explains that the municipal council is working with various parties- public and private- to develop the projects that range in size and duration and intend to serve in the process of upgrading the area and/or transforming the nature of certain spaces or establishments. In the brochure, seven areas in the 1012 postcode are presented as examples of the “area's new vitality” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 5).

On the map, certain buildings and areas are displayed in red, and these represent the places where specific plans are intended or occurring. Additionally, a selection of points of interest are marked with small blue circles, and these appear to be places that are also relevant to the City's agenda. In the text, the different buildings and points of interest are referred to in the description of various components of the ongoing development.

The first four areas, as well as the last are discussed mainly in relation to “upgrading the range of shops, combined with a mixture of bars and restaurants, cultural attractions and hotels” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 5). There is also a clear and repeated emphasis on improving the accessibility between the city’s spaces and attracting a wider range of visitors through offering more diverse businesses and catering to more diverse tastes. For example, the text introduces the expansion of the upscale Bijenkorf department store and the development of a broader cultural program at the Beurs van Berlage, the former stock exchange, which was one of the key projects introduced in the earlier document. This brochure also includes a full-page image of the Oudekerk, which was the other key project that was described in the earlier document (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 6). There is only one person in the frame, and it is a woman sitting on the steps in a doorway, reading something that looks like a newspaper. On the next page, a smaller image of the Oudezijds Achterburgwal is positioned above the text (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 7). These images correspond to the text on the following pages, about the fifth and sixth areas, “Oudezijds Achterburgwal and side streets” and “Oudekersplein and environs”, respectively.

The Oudezijds Achterburgwal is the canal that is in the center of the Red Light District in Amsterdam. The photograph on the previous page is taken so that the canal is in the middle of the frame, and both sides of the street are visible. The picture was taken just before dark, so the red lights are beginning to glow from brothel windows, and people are starting to populate the streets, as they head out for the evening. The colors from the windows reflect off of the sidewalks, emphasizing the idea that this is the center of the Red Light District. Interestingly, on the following page, we read: “This area is, and will remain, the red-light district of Amsterdam”. This statement is coupled with the proposition: “But even here, there is room for innovative concepts to strengthen the red-light district” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 7). Readers learn that some buildings that used to belong to “sex industry boss Charles Geerts have been partly renovated and have now been repurposed” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 7), but they do not learn the story behind this or details about the buildings. It is worth noting that this brochure does not focus on organized crime in this section of the text, which distinguishes this discourse of reform from the others. Instead of focusing on these reforms as solutions to problems, the emphasis is on enhancing the quality of these spaces for socio-cultural and economic outcomes.

The two main initiatives that are discussed are the renovation of the Mata Hari, an illegal betting hall on the Oudezijds Voorburgwal, and the Red Light Amsterdam studios located in former brothels around the Oudekerksplein and the Oudezijds Achterburgwal. The Oudekerksplein is again featured in a separate section and acknowledged as one of “1012’s key projects” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 7). Right away, readers are told: “The square will be free of window brothels, and in the future will be home to a diverse range of businesses. The historical and cultural pearl of the Oude Kerk will be completely restored, inside and out” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 7). This is an interesting assertion. From the description of the plans, it is clear that the area will change drastically. Therefore, one has to

question what is implied by the stated intention of restoring the cultural and historical nature of this part of the city. Since we are told that window brothels will be removed, it is implied that cultural and historical restoration involves the removal of window brothels around the Oudekerksplein. It is inaccurate to suggest that prostitution does not fit into the historical and cultural context of these spaces, yet the discourse on reform introduces the concept of restoration into processes of reform. The intention is to construct an imagined past that reflects the ideals for the future of the spaces. This discourse implies that what replaces the brothels is more historically and culturally significant or valuable to this part of the city and enters a discourse of reform and restoration. Thus, new forms of cultural and historical content can potentially acquire meaning through discourses and spaces that reform the city's image and identity. On the other hand, just because something is deemed valuable in the reform agenda, it does not mean that it will become meaningful in the context of the city. Furthermore, just because something is reformed or replaced, it does not necessarily lose its significance within the city or in relation to its (cultural) image or identity.

In the Red Light District, Red Light Radio, which is also represented in a small photo (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 8) and the Red Light Amsterdam initiative, which I analyze in depth through my case study of Red A.i.R in chapter 5, offer examples of how cultural symbols and spaces are acquiring new values and meanings, while they may also retain important qualities. These development interventions illuminate how value and significance are differentiated in discourses and processes of reform that operate through socio-spatial exchanges between the people and places that are associated with the cultural image and identity of the city. There is also an image that accompanies the description of the development of the city center's China town, where "Asia Station" will become a large trendy market for products from all around Asia (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 9). In this image, the viewer's eye is immediately drawn to the back wall that is featured in the picture. A large image is displayed on the store wall, with a woman in a black bra luring visitors into the trendy store. Just like in the image of the sex shop, this image exemplifies how this discourse of reform incorporates sexuality into representations of the Red Light District. In both examples, sexuality is implied in ways that are detached from prostitution and associated with the commodification of sexuality that is considered beneficial for the reform agenda. These examples illustrate how the City acknowledges the cultural value of the Red Light District, while at the same time, the symbolism of the Red Light District is separated from its association with prostitution and its history in this part of the city. Through reforms, the idea of the Red Light District is attached to new kinds of spaces that function in new ways, in attempts to retain the symbolic value of the Red Light District, without its former implications. In the following case study in Chapter 5, I consider a specific example from the Red Light Art initiative to explore this element of intervention further.

Taken together, the brief descriptions present an overview of the aims of the reforms. It is apparent that the intention is to remove certain businesses and introduce others, in order to improve the quality of the area. A less explicit point that comes through is the significance of the Red Light

District. Although it is obvious that the City intends to make certain changes to this area, it is also apparent that this aspect of the city's image and identity is valuable and relevant in multiple ways. On the surface, it is the starting point of the narrative for reform insofar as it justifies the necessary interventions. However, it also appears to be a key component- socio-spatially and/or symbolically- in numerous reform plans, for example: when it is acknowledged as part of the city's history; when it provides cultural capital, such as in the cases of Redlight fashion and Redlight design or Red Light Radio; when plans prioritize access between different places and the Red Light District.

The final section of the document introduces "The Approach". This is described as a "street-level approach" that is guided by a spatial planning perspective:

By paying attention to public space and by stimulating key projects. In addition the area is seeing active measures being taken administratively, legally and in terms of healthcare (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 8).

Interestingly, the image that accompanies this description presents a "Bird's-eye view of 1012" (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 10). The perspective offered in this image is a top-down view of the city, which seems counterintuitive to the notion of a "street-level approach". However, as we will see, when this approach is broken down, this street-level approach is top-down in many ways.

The approach is broken down into five dimensions, which come together in the overall approach towards development and reform. These include: The spatial approach, the administrative approach, the anti-crime approach, law enforcement and healthcare. The text offers a brief explanation of how the 1012 project addresses each of these dimensions.

"The spatial approach" is comprised of three components: The street-level approach, the renovation of public space and the key projects. This refers back to what we have read about in the previous descriptions of developments in the area. As we might expect, this section explains:

The street-level approach is pushing back crime and reducing the number of low-quality businesses in the 1012 area. A number of window brothels and coffee shops will disappear (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 8).

It refers to the Strategy Paper that designates streets and areas where brothels and coffeeshops will have to close and states that other low-quality businesses that attract criminal activities will be targeted by the reforms. The text also refers to the streets and areas that have been designated as prostitution zones, including the area around the Singel canal, the Spuisstraat and the Oudezijds Achterburgwal. This is the one text that refers to prostitution zones as well as prostitution-free zones, stating, "this delineation means that the window prostitution zone is controllable and manageable" (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9). It is worth noting that when prostitution was legalized in 2000, when the brothel ban was lifted, a similar argument was presented. Specifically, a main reason underlying the decision to lift the brothel ban was that this legislative amendment would enable the "the prostitution sector [to] be reorganized and freed of crime-related marginal phenomena"

(Daalder, 2004, p. 7). Through the national law, municipalities became accountable to the regulation and organization of prostitution, and this was largely through a combination of spatial, administrative and legal strategies and forces. Thus, in Amsterdam, certain forms of sex work were banned, such as street prostitution, and sex work was limited to certain parts of the city.

Now, the discourse of the 1012 project implies that the earlier attempts at regulating prostitution were insufficient. The City's current approach proposes a solution that suggests that more constrained zoning and fewer windows will enable more efficient regulation. It is suggested that the increased delimitation of the prostitution zone will enable more productive law enforcement since prostitution will take place in a more manageable area, and new laws will make the industry more secure and safer for prostitutes and the public alike. They do not address the possibility that the problems are not related to the size or spatialization of the Red Light District, which is arguably the most transparent and manageable sector of Amsterdam's sex work industry. The City does not consider its own accountability for the problems it addresses. It raises certain issues that it intends to address through a development and reform agenda. Thus, it is possible that the current approach will remain insufficient in dealing with organized crime; it is also possible that this is not the primary concern of the City's agenda for reform, which is largely directed towards socio-economic objectives.

The document tells readers that in 2006, there were approximately 480 windows in the 1012 postcode area, and by mid-2011, when the document was written, more than 100 had already been closed. At the end of the project, the City's aim is to leave 280 windows, which would mean that eventually, the sex work industry would have 40% less windows (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 8). In addition to the plan to shut down windows, the project also includes the intention to shut down about a third of the 76 coffeeshops that operate in the 1012 area. "These have been determined by their location, their role in the upgrade, and the rate of degeneration in that area of the neighbourhood" (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 8). These general criteria for deciding which coffeeshops will close and which will remain open do not immediately sound controversial. This document, as well as the previous publications, suggest that coffeeshops are linked to criminal activity in the city center. Additionally, these businesses are associated with certain people and behaviors that the City intends to displace through its development agenda. Thus, it makes sense that plans to reduce the number of coffeeshops relate to their locations and specifically the City's upgrade strategy. By factoring in the "rate of degeneration in the area", we are lead to believe that this degeneration is linked to coffeeshops, and their removal will be part of the solution. On the other hand, there is no reference to crime or anti-social behavior, for example, as indexes for determining which coffeeshops should be removed. Instead, a clear priority is placed on the upgrade plan and the enhancement of the city center.

There is an emphasis on the image- or vision- of the city center, and this relates to the way that the plans are described. As I have mentioned, the strategy is less concerned with the underlying problems, such as crime and insufficient law enforcement, and it is focused on developing and

enhancing the image and identity of the city center. In the section on the spatial approach, the document describes the upgrade of “the most important streets” through referring to the development of “neighbourhood visions” and “the renovation of public space” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 8):

An attractive, well-maintained and safe environment makes us feel at home on the street. These three points play a major role in the renovation of public space in the city centre... Streets will undergo a metamorphosis. Some parts of the canal embankments will be replaced. Special attention will be given to parking, street furniture and public lighting, because these have an impact on the street’s appearance. Improvements to public space can encourage building owners to spruce up their own buildings, and thus these projects give impetus to improving the appearance of the whole street (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 8).

On the following page, the featured image is an “Artist’s impression” of the Red Carpet that presents the Rokin (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 11). This street continues south from the Dam Square, picking up from the Damrak, which is the main street running perpendicular to Amsterdam’s central train station. The image shows a sparsely populated view of the city in the daytime, with pairs of bikers using both sides of the street in the designated bike lanes, a few cars driving along the road, and pedestrians scattered throughout the city, on sidewalks and crossings. In contrast to the present vision of this part of the city, there are fewer awnings on the shops, less bright colors and flashy signs, and most notably, significantly less people. The text that accompanies this image elaborates on the priorities for “the ‘Red Carpet’”:

The area from the Central Station to the Vijzelstraat is not just an important city entrance, but also the city’s visiting card. This is where Amsterdam rolls out the red carpet for its guests! The entrance to the city will be given an international character, with high-quality hotels and shops that sell a range of high-quality products...The businesses on the Damrak will be aimed at a wider audience, while the shops on the Rokin will offer exclusivity for the more discerning customer (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9).

The description emphasizes the City’s intention to change this area to attract certain target groups with specific kinds of establishments. The text presents a distinction between the north and south of the area, suggesting that the Damrak will focus on appealing to visitors with an international atmosphere, while the Rokin will target people who are drawn to high-class and exclusive establishments. Yet, in spite of the suggestion that the Damrak intends to appeal to a wider audience, in just one sentence we are twice reminded that the plan is to introduce higher quality into the area, in relation to hotels and products. Without explicitly telling readers, the document implies an intended change in the wider audience as well as the more specific groups of “discerning” customers. In fact, the use of the term “Red Carpet” to describe this area is indicative of the City’s desire to transform this into a higher quality, higher-class area. Furthermore, it is clear that the changes in this area are directed towards visitors to the city, even if they are also accountable to the city’s residents. In other words, it is clear that the changes in this area reflect the intention to attract particular-

perhaps different and new- groups of visitors to the city. While this objective might correspond to the desires of or for the city's residents, in this case, the focus is on other target groups.

Under the idealized vision of the Red Carpet, the text suddenly shifts to address the final components of the approach: Law enforcement, the administrative approach, the anti-crime approach and the healthcare approach. In the context of the document, these sections seem out of place since the document hardly referred to the problems that are often discussed in tandem with discourses of intervention, often as justifications for initiating reforms within the city. Whereas the previous plans and projects were described as part of a broader plan for improving the city, the final four elements of the approach are presented differently. They are described, but we do not gain insight into how they tie into the development plan. Law enforcement is described as a top-down, area-based collaboration between different groups, for example “the police, the Tax Department, the municipal council and the public prosecutor” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9). The text also suggests that residents and business owners are contributing to the effort to reduce “the nuisance factor” throughout the city center (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9).

The section on the administrative approach elaborates on a specific element of regulation in the area, the Bibob Act, which “allows the council to issue permits that depend on the criminal record of the applicant” (p. 9). The law can also result in the loss of a permit if a suspected business is found to be associated with any criminal activity. The law was introduced in 2003 in order to reduce the possibility for municipal councils to inadvertently facilitate unlawful business or criminal activity through the provision of permits. This section does not tell readers if this law is responsible for the closing of any or all of the businesses that have already been shut down in the development process.

The anti-crime approach is introduced through the Emergo project, which began in 2007 and was concluded in 2011. The project is described as “a legal and financial investigation into criminal influences in the 1012 area” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9). As with law enforcement, we read that “the police, the Ministry of Justice, the Tax Department and the municipal council are working together closely on this project” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9). Two objectives of the project are presented: First, it sought to further understand the concentrations of criminality in the area and “the structures that create opportunities for criminal behavior in the 1012 postcode area” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9). Second, it aimed to develop a strategy for dealing with the problems and preventing them in the future. It states: “such action will consist of a combination of preventative, administrative and legal interventions” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9). While it is not explicitly mentioned, it is apparent that the Emergo project draws together the City's mode of law enforcement and its administrative approach. All three sections describe strategic methods that are based on particular networks of collaboration that intend to proactively and pre-emptively (through information and insight) combat certain undesirable behaviors in the city center.

The last section described as part of the “Approach” is “the healthcare approach”, which refers to “prostitution policy and P&G292” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9). P&G292 is the “Prostitution and Health Centre” in the Red Light District:

The aim of P&G292 is to promote the independence and emancipation of prostitutes, particularly in the areas of health and social standing. P&G292 works closely with the Amsterdam Human Trafficking Co-ordination Centre, the Amsterdam Vice Squad, the legal profession, the Scarlet Cord outreach programme, the Prostitution Information Centre and the Red Thread Support group (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9).

In relation to the other dimensions of the approach, the healthcare approach is one-dimensional. It does not refer to the healthcare of the city’s current or potential inhabitants or the policies that relate to individuals or groups in general. Instead, the healthcare approach refers to the healthcare of prostitutes. On the one hand, the introduction of an approach for dealing with the healthcare of prostitutes suggests that the City is taking action to improve the conditions of prostitutes. It also implies that this industry requires policy intervention and reform, which suggests that the standards of healthcare and more broadly, “the situation of women in prostitution” do not meet the standards of Plan 1012:

In order to achieve the objectives of the 1012 project, it is important there is co-operation between various areas of policy. The departments of ‘Public Order and Safety’ and ‘Housing and Social Support’ write policy that improves the situation of women in prostitution and to fight sex trafficking (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9).

The discourse on healthcare policy and the situation of prostitutes suggest that the City is working to improve the situation of sex workers, and this can be achieved by addressing certain relevant issues. These relate to the policy areas that are deemed accountable to improving the situation of prostitutes and the industry. The text constructs an image of prostitutes, collectively, who confront difficulties relating to their health and wellbeing. It suggests that they can benefit from the support of proactive policies that can improve their situations. The text also introduces links between the 1012 project, the municipal council and groups that support sex workers. However, it does not clarify how the interventions in the Red Light District are influencing individual sex workers, and it does not elaborate on the nature of collaboration between the groups that are mentioned. While the text conveys the idea that the various groups are collaborating in the policies and plans for improving the situation of sex workers and the industry, it is important to remain critical of this implication. Firstly, it is important to remember that many prostitutes are legal workers who should be acknowledged as emancipated and independent workers. Particularly in a city that recognizes sex work as a form of work, they should be acknowledged as capable of succeeding in their personal and professional lives. The discourse in the document frames sex workers in a discourse of dependence. This enables policymakers to represent their interventions as in the interests of sex workers, and it justifies strategic interventions in the organization and regulation of the industry. This representation of policy and reform as a strategy for combatting organized crime is consistent with the Emergo



approach in Amsterdam, which was described in the brochure and corresponds with the Netherlands' administrative approach towards organized crime. Specifically, the country supplements law enforcement with collaborative efforts between multiple local authorities including tax and other financial agencies and the police but does not include industry workers in their attempts to secure the area.

The closing section of the document redirects readers' attention to the municipal council's intention to work with certain groups in order to reach the goals of project 1012. It explains that the council "places great importance on consultations with residents and proprietors in the area" and tells us that council representatives of the project are often invited to the residents' meetings in the area and consult with various neighborhood associations and shop owners (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 10). It concludes by inviting readers to participate in the discussions, either by joining the neighborhood events or online (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 10); readers are also directed to a website that they can refer to for more information about the meetings.

Beneath the closing section, there is an image that presents an "outdoor café in the Wallen" (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 10) (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 12). The image does not directly relate to the closing section, and we are not told where the café is located in relation to the developments that have been discussed. It simply conveys the atmosphere of the neighborhood, and its position at the conclusion of the text suggests that it represents this positively, perhaps as the ideal outcome of the 1012 project. At a glance, the image presents a scene of an outdoor terrace of a café, where customers are seated around tables. The railing in the front of the frame suggests that the café is situated along a canal, and we can assume the picture was taken during the day when the weather was sunny, based on the light in the photograph and how people are dressed. The setting presents a pleasant scene, but upon closer inspection, there are certain aspects that should be considered in relation to the general atmosphere. Most of the people in the picture appear absorbed in their own business, for example reading or looking away from the others at their table, so the scene appears somewhat anti-social. Another interesting feature of the image is the ratio between men and women, which is about three to one. It is worth considering this in relation to other representations of this area that also suggest that the patrons of the businesses that are targeted by reforms, for example brothels and coffeeshops in the Wallen, are predominantly men.

In contrast to the image that I have just described, the final image that is presented in this document features a city street with only one person, a woman, who is walking along a city street, away from the viewpoint of the camera (*see* Appendix B, 4.3 13). In front of her, we see a car parked on the street, and further in front, the image displays a row of typical canal houses that could be expected in the city center. This closing image is not overtly expressive, but in comparison to the other images, it clearly reveals the city in a particular, idealistic way. In most of the other images, we see the city in relation to ongoing developments. Thus, the majority of the images refer to processes that are intervening in the area; in some cases, they illustrate the present conditions, while at others,

they are more future-oriented. In contrast, this final image is not a projection of an ideal (like the maps of planned projects or the artist's representation of the Rokin), and yet, it appears to convey an ideal. Like the image of the woman outside the Oudekerk, this image portrays the area without any of the problems that have been referred to in discourses of reform.

---

#### 4.4 *Project 1012: Concluding Remarks*

---

I began my second case study with an analysis of discourses of socio-spatial reform. These were also presented through the administrative discourse, like the documents I analyzed in chapter 3. The first press release, "Quality for the Heart of Amsterdam" was published on the I amsterdam web portal, so it was also speaking to the audience that the city marketing discourse was appealing to (I amsterdam, 2008). In this respect, it can be seen to carry forward the City's strategy to market itself in a certain way to certain individuals and groups of current and potential residents, visitors and businesses. The fact that the press release introduced a strategy, "Coalition Project 1012", reflects how it functioned as a discursive practice. Specifically, it introduced a vision for the city through a discourse of reform that described the City's ambition to enhance the quality of the spaces in the 1012 postal code region (I amsterdam, 2008).

In the first part of the case study, I looked at a discourse of reform that introduced a strategy for improving certain aspects of the city center. As we saw, this discourse intended to construct a particular narrative about the 1012 region of the city. In this narrative, certain policies were important because the area needed improvements in order to achieve the goal of the reforms.

When we look at the discourse of Project 1012, there are two distinct parts: it refers to contemporary Amsterdam, which is constructed through a discourse of problems to solve, alongside the future city, which is constructed through a discourse of reforms. The discourses that I analyzed are distinct in terms of how each text acquires meaning and significance for the people who read them. On the other hand, they should be considered linked, as the link to the brochure was provided on the bottom of the webpage where the original press release for the Coalition Project was presented, on the I amsterdam portal; and, the brochure that was published later follows up on many of the initiatives and information that was introduced in the earlier strategy paper. Furthermore, it is important to recognize the similarities between the texts that I have analyzed. In this case study, there is an obvious parallel between the texts, with the brochure offered as an elaboration of the press release and the later publication documenting the progress of the developments. If we return to my previous study, we can also identify important parallels in the discourses of reform. In Chapter 3, I noticed that the discourse on city marketing and branding emphasized the importance of certain groups and individuals, as well as certain values for the city. This case study has revealed similar findings. Both documents focus on reforms that are directed towards certain visitors and businesses, and this ties into the emphasis on particular target groups that was apparent in the previous case

study. Furthermore, the strategy paper and brochure prioritized plans that could be seen to exemplify the ideals of creativity, innovation and spirit of commerce, for example by prioritizing the cultural and creative industries and higher quality business endeavors. In this discourse, this became explicit in relation to the concept of quality.

In this discourse, it was even clearer how the concept of quality was a tool for attracting certain people, corresponding with Florida's concept "quality of place", which links economic development and the behaviors of creative individuals, who are attracted to particular locations (Florida, 2002). Trip (2007) explains that quality of place is comprised of factors that make a city attractive to creative people:

Economic and spatial diversity, specific leisure and cultural amenities that fit the interest of the creative class, a mixed population, the chance of informal meetings in so-called "third spaces," safety, vibrancy, as well as indefinable aspects such as authenticity, tolerance, street life, buzz, and urbanity (p. 503).

This conceptualization of quality of place is productive for understanding the different ways that quality enters into discourses of reform and how it has been theorized in relation to discourses of the creative city. It enables us to question how the discourse of reform targets certain people, and how these people are represented/constructed as subjects of city's future image and identity.

In addition to corroborating my findings about the targets *of* reforms, my analyses in this chapter offered another significant finding about how specific groups are targeted *for* reform. These are the individuals and groups who are not targeted by the city marketing and branding campaign, so they were not explicated in the discourse of the previous case study. Through this study of the socio-spatial reforms, it became apparent that certain people were being strategically targeted for reform, which means that they were designated as part of the problem, and their displacement was part of the strategy for improving the city center. Alongside these people, there were industries, places and practices that were deemed problematic and were also targeted for reform.

The brochure frames the reforms in terms of an organizational imperative based on the need to replace certain businesses (and people) with others in order to improve the socio-spatial life of the city. At first, this is presented as a strategy for reducing criminality and a criminal infrastructure in the city center, so it is presented through a discourse of security. Then this converges with a discourse of economic development and culture-led policies for enhancing the quality of life in the city center. Thus, we can identify the governmentality of Plan 1012. While the documents that I analyzed addressed the area of the 1012 region, it was clear that prostitution and the Red Light District were key focal points for reforms. This was a recurrent theme in relation to the need to remove criminogenic businesses and enhance various elements of this area, in terms of mobility and quality of industries and spaces in this area. Thus, while prostitution and the Red Light District are acknowledged as key parts of the city's history and this part of the city, these are also aspects that reveal how discourses of reform intervene in the cultural life and space of the city.

The discourse on policy and reform introduces prostitution as an industry that is conducive to criminality and presents a solution that directs our attention towards an improved future of the city. In this future, criminality will be reduced through policies and reforms that intend to improve the quality of the social spaces and the quality of life in the 1012 postal code region, where readers are given the impression that crime is prevalent. The document justifies its approach by explaining that crime will decline when the area is no longer conducive to criminal activity. This is the basis of the City's explicitly socio-spatial and implicitly socio-economic approach towards policy and reform.

Importantly, even if crime is reduced in this area, the City has not addressed its insufficient methods of law enforcement for dealing with certain kinds of criminality. It has not dealt with the criminal organizations that have been displaced from the city center or the individuals who have been impacted by the reforms, for example certain sex workers who worked in the former brothels. Instead, the discourse has constructed certain subjects who can be associated with problems and others who can be associated with solutions. Since law enforcement has proven insufficient for dealing with organized criminality, the City has decided to reconstruct the narrative of the problem in order to redefine the solution that corresponds with the reform agenda.

The project that is recurrently associated with reforming the historical and cultural spaces in the Red Light District is the renovation of the Oudekerksplein, where it has been declared that there will no longer be space for prostitution. This particular place within the city presents an example of how certain reforms are functioning through the logic of prostitution-free zoning. Sanchez (2004) explains:

Although the prostitution-free zone may appear, in name, a quintessential example of displacement, it more closely approximates banishment- a classical example of the ban- which amounts not only to removal, but also to a denial of the prostitute's legal subjectivity and cultural existence (p. 865).

Her distinction between displacement and banishment is particularly pertinent and critical for this example, for it illuminates the contextualized and contingent relationship between prostitution, the presence of social space and the city's cultural composition, in relation to the past and for the future. In this sense, one might go as far as to suggest that the prostitutes have been banished from this particular cultural context, due to the fact that prostitution is no longer subsumed within the rhetoric of culture in these spaces in the city. Instead of the windows and brothels that surrounded the historical church, there will be "commercial activities, shops, culture, art, bars and restaurants". From the perspective of those who have proposed the plan, these changes will transform the spaces into more pleasant environments for those who wish to enjoy the area as well as those passing through, and the Old Church will be positioned in the center as the "treasure of cultural heritage" (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 11).

Prostitution has been documented in Amsterdam since the fourteenth century, and although it has appeared in different forms and places around the city, it has consistently concentrated around this area in the historical city center (Van de Pol, 2011, p. 4). Thus, the plan to remove window

prostitution in this part of the city is a drastic intervention in the socio-spatial life, as well as the historical image and identity of this part of the city. As we saw in the press release, the intention is to declare the area around the Oudekerksplein “Prostitution-free”. This presents an example of how certain reforms are functioning through the logic of prostitution-free zoning, which is an example of spatial governmentality. This relates to the city’s cultural heritage and its future as well as the subjects who vitalize the city’s spaces in their daily lives. However, the prostitutes and brothels are not the only components of the city’s culture that symbolize the Red Light District in this area. The Prostitution Information Center (*see* Appendix B, 4.4 1) and the statue of Belle (*see* Appendix B, 4.4 2), in remembrance of a prostitute who was murdered in the city in 2007, also refer to the history and presence of this element of the city center and symbolize the city’s attitude towards sex workers, and I would argue, largely confront these particular reforms. The bronze statue, directly in front of the church displays a sex worker standing proudly in a window frame, with a plaque that reads, “Respect sex workers all over the world” (*see* Appendix B, 4.4 3).

From this perspective, it seems that the City was prioritizing its future image, in terms of the quality of its spaces and the quality of life that it offered for particular target groups, over important aspects of safety and security that affect a much broader population and individuals’ rights to and within the city. This also suggests that in policy, strategies for improving the security and safety of the city through law enforcement are less important than those for improving the image of the city, since it was less important to improve law enforcement than aspects of quality associated with the city. Instead, the discourses on quality constructed safety and security as the outcomes of the policies and reforms that were enhancing the quality of life and space in the city. This prioritization is enhanced by the fact that the document only refers back to the role of law enforcement as one of the final components of the new approach for reforming the city. As I explained, this is only briefly discussed, and readers do not gain insight into how law enforcers factor into the larger agenda. Furthermore, the document does not explain if or how the new approach is aiming to improve the law enforcement methods that were described as insufficient.

While certain administrative viewpoints acknowledge the ways that sex workers have been negatively affected by the structure of the sex work industry in the past, it seems that policy makers are unwilling to listen to opinions that suggest that the current reforms will only lead to greater problems for sex workers in Amsterdam. Although these views are predominantly absent from the policy/administrative discourse, they have been expressed in the media, in response to interventions in the Red Light District. Sietske Altnik, a spokeswoman for The Red Thread explained: “By closing down the windows, you take a lot of work away from prostitutes who work independently [...] It doesn’t make sense to penalize the women when you want to go after the owners. Closing down the windows doesn’t help the women” (Hawley, 2007). Additionally, in an interview with Arsenault (2007) from CBC news, Mariska Majoor, an ex-sex worker and the founder of the Prostitution Information Center, asked: “What is safe then for the women if you get rid of the windows?”

[...]They will work in underground systems and in places where you cannot see them, you cannot find them, you cannot offer them help. You only hide the problem then". In the long run, one could argue, the reforms will make the structure of prostitution more conducive to organized crime, as it moves from the public visible spaces into the underground, invisible sector.

The sex workers are not the only ones who have expressed views against the recent approach for tackling organized crime through the red light spaces. Academic critiques have corroborated the views of the sex workers, confirming the opinion that the suppression of window prostitution will merely marginalize the industry and force the women into less visible and less regulated spaces within the city (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012). Thus far, neither the Red Thread nor the women from the Prostitution Information Center have been able to successfully convince policy makers of the legitimacy of their claims. External perspectives that reiterate their views have not been accounted for in the City's ongoing attempts to restructure the sex work industry. What is especially disturbing about the current reforms is that the organized criminals are being displaced from the red light windows, but have the freedom and capabilities to conduct business elsewhere, while the sex workers no longer have places to work legitimately.

The contemporary sex worker appears to be what Sanchez (2004) refers to as the excluded exclusion, the female figure who "makes homo sacer's displacement and return to the social possible" (p. 868). Sanchez's (2004) juxtaposition of Agamben's masculine homo sacer with the feminine figure of the prostitute illustrates the contradictory logic of the City's approach towards organized crime:

It is the equation of homo sacer with the state of nature, and the implication that homo sacer's crime consists, at least symbolically, in failing to submit to the social contract. It is this same fact that reveals homo sacer as something different than a figure of exclusion, something different than 'presocial'. For homo sacer is *included* in the constitution of the social because he must be accounted for...homo sacer is already within the cultural consciousness as opposed to the 'alien' or 'other'- that is, the subject who is outside and insignificant and who therefore does not count, or who is outside and threatening and who therefore is repressed (p. 866).

Sanchez introduces the gendered relationship between the concepts of homo sacer and the prostitute, as subjects within the collective social consciousness. She argues that Agamben's figure of exclusion, homo sacer, is one of displacement specifically because it is dependent on a "figure whose exclusion is more complete", for example the prostitute. The discourse of reform is based on the idea that if the prostitutes are removed, the problems associated with prostitution will be eliminated. In Amsterdam, homo sacer is the organized criminal who can slip between the cracks of the City's current approach that is targeting the infrastructure and opportunities for criminality but is not addressing the problems themselves.

The introduction of the healthcare component into the approach emphasizes the focus on the interventions in Red Light District, and while it gives the impression that the City is working for the benefit of the prostitutes, the broader agenda is not concerned with their situations or

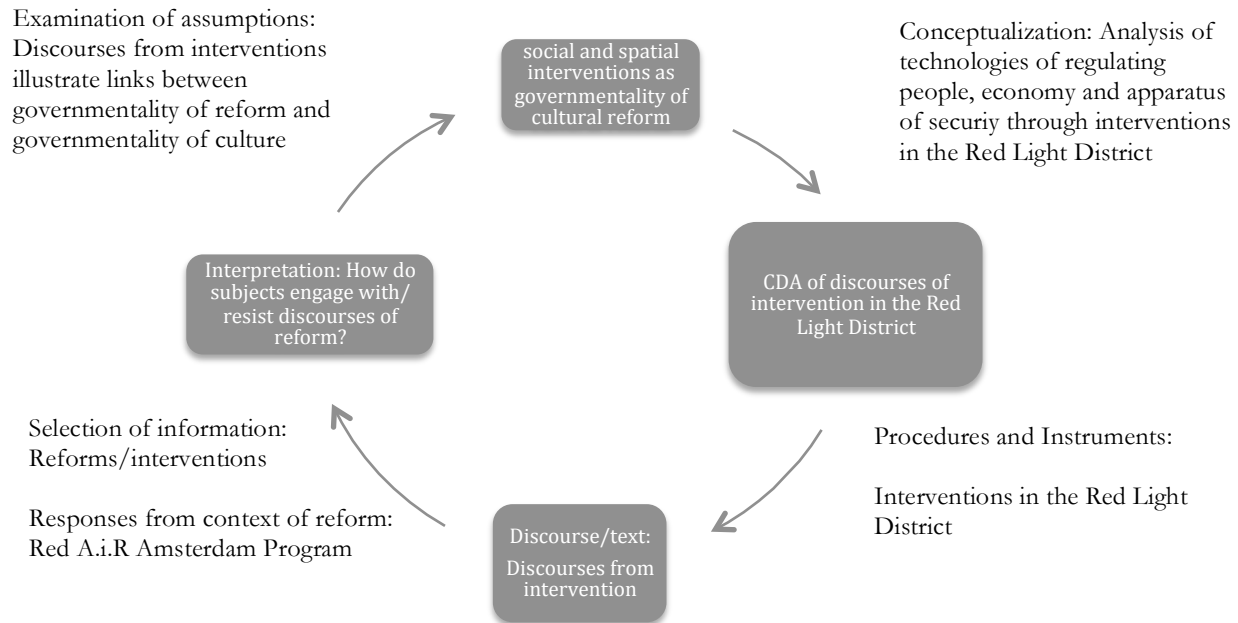
perspectives. On the one hand, the policy includes a section that intends to address the health and safety of the women who work in prostitution, and on the other hand, it is displacing a large part of the sex work industry through the broader interventions in the area. The text tells readers that the healthcare approach, which includes prostitution policy and a health center for prostitutes, is working for their benefit, particularly in relation to their independence in matters of their health and social situations; however, this information is introduced in the discourse of policies and reforms that conceptualize prostitution as an industry that is inextricable from organized crime. It follows references to the darker side of de Wallen, examples of reforms that will remove brothels from certain parts of the city and descriptions of how the displacement of window prostitution will improve the quality of life in the city. Through this discourse, the prostitutes who will be facilitated by the healthcare approach emerge as victims of their situations, before they can be seen as independent and emancipated women. This discourse undermines the subject of prior discourses on sex work in Amsterdam, which revolved around the emancipated sex worker in a legalized, legitimate industry. The text and the administrative approach do not consider the prostitutes who work independently, who do not want to be emancipated from their professional situations. Readers' attention is also diverted from the inevitability that when businesses shut down in this area, they will go elsewhere. The text also diverts attention from the fact that policies are not addressing the criminal organizations that are threatening the security of the industry or the insufficient law enforcement methods.

As I have explained, the narrative of reform was apparent and reiterated throughout both documents. This case study also revealed the centrality and significance of Amsterdam's Red Light District within the discourse of reform and for the city's cultural image and identity. This element of the city extends beyond its spatial or historical quality. And, while it forms a significant contributing factor for the justification for the reforms, according to the administrative perspective, it simultaneously accounts for a large part of the symbolic, cultural value that is associated with the image and identity of the city center. This is apparent in the various references to the Red Light District: E.g. in relation to its importance in the city; or, more obscurely, in relation to projects that allude to its symbolic capital, like Red Light Fashion or Red Light Radio; and, even the businesses or residences that are valuable because of their proximity to the Red Light District; also, it emerges through the multiple references to improving movement between this area and other parts of the city.

The way that policies and reforms represented the Red Light District and prostitution in the city center offer important information about how the city is strategically intervening in the socio-cultural life of the city. This case study revealed the centrality of the Red Light District, a key aspect of the city's historical and cultural identity, in the strategies and discourses of reform. In my subsequent case studies, I take a closer look at particular discourses of reform that relate to interventions in the Red Light District and prostitution within the city. My aim is to analyze how this

particular space and aspect of the city enters into discourses of reform and offers information about the changing governmentality of reform in Amsterdam.

### Theoretically driven model guiding CDA





## 5. DISCOURSES FROM INTERVENTION: RESISTING AND RESPONDING TO CONTENT AND CONTEXTS OF POLICY AND REFORM

---

The previous sections introduced research that focused on administrative/policy discourses of reform. My first study looked at the discourses of marketing and branding as discourses of reform, questioning how they represent interventions in the city's image and identity. My second case study narrowed my focus to a particular area within the city and addressed how discourses of reform had the potential to intervene in the social and spatial context of the city. My analysis of the administrative discourse of reform revealed important information about the policy perspective through the City's strategic agenda, as well as the perspective that was presented. As I explained, the agenda itself revealed an organizational imperative that highlighted the role of different experts, who influenced the policy perspective and outcomes. In my first case study, the discourse of reform explicitly emphasized the role of certain values and people, through continually referring to notions of creativity, innovation and a spirit of commerce and the roles of visitors, businesses and residents. It became clearer how these ideas and people entered into the City's plans in my second case study. The texts were less explicit in their references to these terms because they were directed towards the general public with the intention of establishing a narrative of reform for the local and international target audiences.

In this chapter, I take an even closer look at how certain people participate in the processing of culture in particular spaces of reform. This case study enables me to approach my central research question from a different perspective in order to better understand the relationship between the culture of policies and reforms and the culture that is attributed to the image and identity of the city. As I explained in Chapter 2, this case study and my analyses of discourses from intervention enable me to focus on how and why different people respond to and/or become functional within this reform context. In the previous chapters, I identified the groups of people and individuals who were described as targets of city marketing and subjects (or objects) of development and reform. I identified these individuals in terms of the discourse I was analyzing. In the analysis below, I have reversed my approach: I have identified subjects and objects that are relevant to the discourses of reform in my project. This is necessary because there is not a clear distinction between the administrative/policy perspective and the target group/subject position, and this will become explicit through the case study in this chapter, which elucidates what I refer to as the discourse from intervention. This discourse simultaneously comes from and targets specific people within and outside the city who are subjects and agents of cultural reforms. In this chapter, I focus on a specific group of artists who participated in a residency program that was part of a reform initiative in the Red Light District. I analyze how this program is represented through a discourse of intervention

that intends to reform the area. Additionally, I focus on the individuals who participated in the residency, who can be identified as targets of city marketing and subjects- or agents- of the developments and reforms that I analyze. They are individuals who are considered creative, which is why they have been selected to participate in the residency program; as such, they are supposed to represent the city and contribute meaning and value to the city's brand. As artists and creative, they also contribute to the city's cultural and creative industries. In this respect, as I explained in chapter 2, this case study enables me to question how particular individuals, their practices and the places in which they intervene impact and engage with cultural policies and reforms in the everyday life of the city and how this reflects and represents cultural aspects of the city's image and identity.

Importantly, I describe the discourses of reform in this chapter as “discourses from intervention” because the subjects that I analyze are people who I identify for their interventions in aspects of the discourses and contexts of reform that I have analyzed in the preceding chapters. From the administrative/policy perspective, they are supposed to intervene in certain spaces according to the administrative agenda. On the other hand, my analyses also reveal how individuals intervene in the contexts of reform in counterintuitive ways that impact how culture is experienced. Thus, this case study intends to supplement and enhance the analyses of the prior case studies.

I have selected an example that enables me to enhance my analyses of the I amsterdam brand and Project 1012. Due to the limited scope and space of this project, I have decided to include a detailed analysis of one intervention that extends the insights from my previous studies. While this only offers one example of reform and a limited number of perspectives, it allows me to extensively consider how different people contribute to the process and discourse of reform. This is partly due to the way that this study differs from the previous studies methodologically. In contrast with my previous studies, which were based on analyses of texts and images included within texts, this case study also includes analyses based on my observations.

I focus on a program that took place in the 1012 region, for a period of a year, during which brothels were converted into artist and design studios as part of the Redlight Art Amsterdam initiative. Since I was in Amsterdam when the program was taking place, and the initiative was largely open to the public, I had access to the spaces that were undergoing reforms. Therefore, I observed how different people participate in the process of reform at the second and third dimensions of discourse, specifically looking at the experiences and projects of two artists from the Red A.i.R (Artist in Residency) program. In the following sections, I begin with an introduction to my involvement with Red A.i.R and proceed to introduce documents and artists' works that are particularly relevant for this project.

---

### 5.1 *Discourses from Interventions: Red A.i.R*

---

### **Dimensions of discourse (Overview):**

**1st Text:** The text, which I analyze in section 5.2, comes from the brochure that introduced the Red A.i.R program.

**2nd Discoursal practices** (Production, interpretation): During the Red A.i.R program, each artist was given a former brothel to use as a studio to work in and display his/her work during the residency. I have selected particular artists' contributions to analyze in this case study, and these are the most clear expressions of discoursal practices that are produced and interpreted during the residency. In section 5.3, I analyze Laurence Aëgerter's Opening Soon | Opening Now project. In section 5.4, I analyze Alexis Blake's project along with her panel contribution during the final program, "A Second Exchange: three days of presentations and talks".

**3rd Social practice:** Through observing the artists' contributions, I analyze the artists' role and impact within the social life and space of the city. Each artist exemplifies different ways of engaging with the socio-spatial context in which the project took place. Aëgerter invites different members of the public to imagine alternative ways that the space can function within the city; Blake's contribution to the final program illustrates the artist's engagement with members of the public who attended the event, introducing a discourse of reform through her participation in the program.

### **Structure of the Discourse (Overview)<sup>19</sup>:**

- Red A.i.R Program: An introductory brochure produced collaboratively by the City of Amsterdam, Angela Serino (the curator of Red A.i.R), and the housing corporation De Key-De Principaal (a partner of the city)
- Briefly introduces the Redlight Amsterdam initiative and the collaborating partners
- Includes brief bios for the contributing artists and a sample of their works

Before I introduce this case study, it is important to explain how I became interested in and involved with this particular initiative- or intervention- in the socio-spatial context that I was studying. The Red A.i.R residency program took place while I was living in Amsterdam. I had been observing the changes in the city, and at the time, I was conducting research on the reforms in the Red Light District, and I began to vocalize my views through the channels I found at the University of Amsterdam. Angela Serino, the curator of the residency program, contacted me when she was beginning to develop the program, asking if I would be interested in speaking with her about the Redlight Art initiative and the residency that she would be curating in the former brothels. I had already been tracking the changes that were taking place in the central Red Light District, mainly along the Oudezijds Achterburgwal, where I noticed other Redlight Amsterdam studios had replaced prostitutes' windows (*see* Appendix C, 5.1 1). I also noticed the strategic juxtaposition of these reforms in the pairing of the concept statements: "I amsterdam" and "Redlight Amsterdam", which linked the city's brand to the policy and reform agenda in the Red Light District. I had not had

---

<sup>19</sup> I provide more detailed overviews of the content at the start of each section of analysis

the opportunity to actively engage with the reforms, so I was excited to speak with the curator and learn about the initiative and hear from someone who was actively involved.

The curator's office was located in a former brothel, on the Bergstraat, which is a side street that connects two of the city's main canals, the Singel and the Herengracht. Window prostitution used to occupy about half (eight) of the ground floor studios on the street, which is only the short distance between the two canals (approximately eight canal houses long), but when I went to meet Serino, I noticed that all except one woman were gone from the buildings that used to be brothels<sup>20</sup>. Here, I again recognized the pairing of the city's brand and the logo of the art initiative (*see* Appendix C, 5.1 2).

We met to discuss the history of the spaces, as she was interested in learning as much as she could about the context in which she and the artists would be working. Through this meeting, I gained access to the Red A.i.R program before it began, and I observed and engaged with the program throughout the residency. Furthermore, I considered its continued relevance beyond the constraints of the time and space of the program, through my analysis of an academic discourse of reform in chapter 6, which I contributed to, along with three of the artists.

My research includes more and less formal documents that described and advertised the program and the projects during the one-year residency program. The different kinds of information (content) that I consider is partly based on how I related to the program and how I was able to access and interact with the artists and their projects. I take different perspectives that relate to the different ways that I engaged with the project at different times. I confronted various kinds of information, and I found myself in different situations that forced me to reflect on my position differently.

My first experience of the program was during my first conversation with Angela, the curator of Red A.i.R. I first saw the program from my position as an academic since the curator asked me to provide her with information about the history of the spaces she was working with. Specifically, she requested a brief overview of the history of prostitution in Amsterdam's Red Light District, which also suggested that she was particularly interested in the links between these spaces and prostitution. My first meeting with Serino led to my hypothesis that the curator did not intend for this project to be part of the process of displacing prostitution from the historical or cultural identity of the city. Even though the Red A.i.R studios were located in former brothels, I expected that the program would account for the former people and places that inhabited this area before the artists took over their studios. In contrast with the way that the policy/administrative discourse presented prostitution as a problem to reform, this project would construct a different image of the Red Light District through the artists' reflections, roles and works during the residency.

---

<sup>20</sup> The last window at Bergstraat 2 closed in the middle of 2012.

The conflict between the administrative/policy discourse and the discourse from intervention becomes apparent when I analyze the Redlight Art program, in section 5.2. This document immediately conveys an administrative agenda, which conflicts with the artists' expressed perceptions of Red A.i.R. When I consider Laurence Aëgerter's works, in section 5.3, I observe the artist's studio from the perspective of any passerby who would be welcomed into her public event space. In contrast, my analysis of Alexis Blake's work, in section 5.4, began from her request that I participate in one of her focus groups. While she invited me to participate as the academic member among her diverse range of participants, in this role, I could not help but feel as though I was part of the artist's project. In a sense, it was a kind of role reversal, since she was researching me, and I was becoming part of the content for her project.

Early on, I made the observation that Red A.i.R offered the public valuable information that did not require an insider's perspective. Thus, I do not feel that my engagements with the program negatively impact my perspectives or analyses. In contrast to other Redlight studios that I observed, such as the Redlight Fashion windows where new designers set up boutique style studios to display their clothing (*see* Appendix C, 5.1 3), I noticed that these artists asked the public for a greater degree of interaction with their artistic processes and their spaces. Thus, over the course of the residency, there were various opportunities for me to attend events and activities in the studios and to observe others- including other professionals studying and working in the cultural industries along with the general public- interacting with the artists and experiencing the spaces through various artistic processes or productions. There were also times when the artists invited people to participate in their artistic processes, and these were not always public. Therefore, I also experienced the program as a member of the public, observing the outcomes of these projects and attending various events where artists and interested people engaged in dialogues about the works of the artists, their experiences and the program, more generally.

The first artist that I consider in detail is Laurence Aëgerter. From my perspective as an observer, I noticed that Laurence used the residency to open her space to different people with different perspectives. Her experimentation with the space enabled her to engage in an ongoing reflection into the form and function of the space. Her studio represented the frame for her to explore the limits and potentials of the space and to see how the public responded to her different ideas. Thus, while this artist did not offer me the insider's perspective *per se*, as Angela and Alexis had, I had numerous opportunities to research and engage with the space and the artistic process from "within". In fact, Laurence's project offered this kind of experience to members of the public on various occasions, and through her project, I had the chance to observe how the space could appeal to different people who were attracted to various potential functions for the space in the future. When I discuss Laurence's project, I explain why it seemed that she, more than the other artists, seemed to ask her audience- comprised of Amsterdam's resident and visiting population- to join her in imagining new possibilities for the space.

I then turn to consider Alexis Blake, the artist who asked me to participate in one of her focus groups. While this was the first reason that I was interested in her project, there are other reasons why it became particularly relevant. Throughout her project, she remained interested in notions of “choice”, which she reflects on in relation to the city marketing campaign and her role in the process of rebranding the city. Through her work and her reflections on her (and artists’) position in the context of the city, Blake raises questions that refer back to my first case study and introduce an important perspective from within the context of cultural policy and reform. She was also the artist who participated in one of the panels during the concluding event of the residency program.

Finally, in 2009, I participated on panel about the Red Light District at a conference that addressed the history and future of Amsterdam, “Imagining Amsterdam: Visions and Revisions” (University of Amsterdam, 2009). Angela Serino was also on this panel, and following this conference, the Red Light District panel collaboratively worked on a special feature on the landscape of prostitution in Amsterdam, which was later published in an academic journal. This feature also included contributions from some of the artists who had participated in the ongoing process of reform in the Red Light District. Alexis Blake and Laurence Aëgerter were two of the artists, along with Achim Lengerer, who contributed content for this publication. Therefore, I had another chance to engage with their works after the residency; perhaps more importantly, elements of their projects have been published in an academic journal alongside particular perspectives on the Red Light District. Therefore, my selection of their works introduces another possibility to analyze these artists’ works in relation to another discourse on policy and reform, which I describe as the academic discourse on reform in chapter 6.

---

## 5.2 *Red A.i.R: The Program*

---

### **Structure of the Document (overview):**

- The cover of the program features eight figures drawn in black and white, standing in front of a bold yellow star. Beneath the star is the title of the program, “RED A.i.R” (Serino, City of Amsterdam & De Key- De Principaal, 2008).
- The following page sharply contrasts the cover, with a bright red background on which the Colophon attributes credit for the components of the document, including the cover image, which was produced by one of the participating artists.
- The contents page, like the previous page corresponds with the city branding color scheme of red, white and black, introducing the Redlight Art Amsterdam logo and website at the bottom of the page.
- The introduction includes large red sub-headings: “In transition: the Amsterdam Red Light District”; “Housing corporation ‘De Key’ makes room for art”; “Stedelijk Museum Bureau Amsterdam”; “Kunstenaars&CO”; “Red A.i.R., Artist-in-Residency in the Red Light”. It presents the justification for Redlight Amsterdam and introduces the City’s collaborating partners in the Redlight Art initiative and the Red A.i.R program.
- The section “Map Redlight Art Amsterdam” spans two pages. On one page, a map illustrates the locations of the Red A.i.R residency studios within the city center; the second page

presents drawings that show the specific structures of the buildings that will be used by the individuals who are participating in the residency.

- The following 31 pages introduce the participating artists. Each artist is presented with a brief bio statement and photographs of samples of their work.
- The final page, referred to as “Amsterdam Partners” in the table of contents, is red and is almost completely blank, except for the logos of the partners that extend from left to right across the bottom of the page, above the I amsterdam brand that spans the width of the page.

The first official publication was the 2008 “Red A.i.R” program collaboratively produced by the City of Amsterdam, Angela Serino, the curator of Red A.i.R, and the key partner of the city, housing corporation De Key- De Principaal. This document can be described as a selective program of the residency, but it should be understood as more and less than that. It provides an introduction to the context in which this initiative took place and those who collaborated in the program. It provides glimpses of the spaces of these reforms, and it offers static images of spaces that changed numerous times throughout the program.

The first representation of Red A.i.R appears on the cover, presented like a logo with the words “Red A.i.R” beneath the image (*see* Appendix C, 5.2 1). The design itself is a yellow star in front of which seven figures, sketched in black and white- all wearing glasses- stand. While the figures are not drawn with a great deal of detail, they exude some form of confidence and an interesting combination of unity and individuality. The work is credited to one of the participating artists, and more of his drawings are reproduced later in the document. The artist’s cover drawing sharply contrasts the pages that follow, which revert to the style and red and white color scheme of the city’s brand and the Redlight Amsterdam logo. The divergence between the cover and the uniform branded pages are indicative of the piecemeal and divergent nature of this collaboration. The first page that presents the Redlight Art Amsterdam logo is the Contents page, which is the second page of the document. The word “Contents” appears in large red letters at the top of the page, and the Redlight Art Amsterdam label signs the pages at the bottom in a comparable size. Between these elements, in significantly smaller font, we receive information about what is included in the document. The information is presented so that we immediately see that the text begins with an introduction, and it concludes with the Redlight Art partners. These stand out because they are separated from the rest of the contents by a space, indicating separate parts of the document, whereas the middle section is presented in single spacing, conveying a single section of the document. A second look might reveal that the middle section starts with the section: “Map Redlight Art Amsterdam”. Under this section, the artists are grouped together in a single spaced block of text.

The first section of text is an introduction to the City of Amsterdam’s Redlight Amsterdam initiative. The text begins with an explanation of the ideas that are foundational to the Redlight Art initiative and thus apply to the Red A.i.R residency:

The City of Amsterdam is removing the underlying criminality and achieving greater balance in the famous Red Light District, and housing corporations are purchasing buildings currently used for

prostitution. Nevertheless, prostitution without the underlying criminality will remain in this district, as it is legal in the Netherlands. Before the purchased buildings are given a permanent function, the City of Amsterdam will give national and international top talents from the creative industry a unique chance to display their creations in the famous windows for the duration of one year (Serino et al., 2008, p. 4).

This introduction begins with a statement of justification that is based on the City's assertion that it is actively achieving the objectives of the Redlight initiative, by reducing criminality and improving the quality of the Red Light District. Here, we see the administrative discourse presenting the narrative of reform that I introduced in the previous chapter. The text proceeds to introduce the partnership between the City and housing corporations, which is presented as a positive collaboration that is enabling the City to offer different creative individuals opportunities to temporarily work in these world-renowned locations in the city center. These individuals and their works are the subjects of the discourses of intervention that I focus on in this chapter.

The text explains that Angela Serino was invited to take part as the curator of *Red A.i.R* and develop it in the framework of *Redlight Art Amsterdam*. She invited eight artists to take part in the international artist in residence program in former brothels on Bergstraat and Koorjespoorsteeg. The document explains that they had the chance to live, conduct research and seek inspiration for their work over the course of a year. Throughout the year, the artists would also participate in a program that included "public activities involving guest artists and cultural practitioners, and a final presentation of new works" (Serino et al., 2008, p. 4). In order to offer interested readers further information on the program and the opportunity to follow its progress, the program website is provided at the end of this section of text<sup>21</sup>.

Importantly, as the previous statements exemplify, the discourse of intervention comes forth through the interplay between the subjects of this discourse and the administrative discourse of reform, which contextualizes their interventions and their situations within this context of reform. This is emphasized when De Key is described as "mak[ing] room for art" in the subheading and the text that follows, which states that the housing corporation "uses art as a tool to make the city more beautiful and by doing so, making the neighbourhoods more vibrant" (Serino et al., 2008, p. 5). In these quotes, the City and De Key are described as accountable to the artists' opportunities to work in these spaces. Furthermore, they explain that the artists have been selected based on their talent and capacity to contribute to the creative industry and enhance the life of the neighborhood.

The introduction to the program and particularly De Key's role in the Redlight Amsterdam initiative illuminate the paradoxical nature of the concept of residency in this program. Although the document states that the artists had the chance to live in the former brothels, none of them actually lived in the studios that were provided as their workspaces. When the program began, the artists

---

<sup>21</sup> This website is no longer active.



entered studios that were no different than the brothels that had been displaced, except now an artist had replaced the prostitute who had formerly occupied the space. None of the artists considered the spaces to be inhabitable as a residential studio for the program. It is then interesting that the spaces were provided through a partnership with the housing corporation De Key. This collaboration is described as a relationship between artists and the neighborhood, but at the same time, this partnership is based on De Key's intention to "use art as a tool" to support the cultural heritage of the city and to beneficially transform residential life and the neighborhood. The paradox of this relationship is enhanced by the designation of the program as a residency in which the resident artists do not find their spatial situations inhabitable in a residential sense.

SMBA and Kunstenaars&CO are the other partners that are introduced. SMBA is a project space of the city's established Stedelijk Museum that is "dedicated to international contemporary art in relation to the Amsterdam context" (Serino et al., 2008, p. 6)<sup>22</sup>. In this respect, it seems reasonable that this organization would invest in this program, which introduces international art into public spaces in the process of urban reform. Kunstenaars&CO, which we are told stands for "Kunstenaars, Cultuur & Ondernemerschap", (artists, culture & entrepreneurship) is described as "a non-profit organization which stimulates and supports artists in raising their levels of entrepreneurship and developing new work areas" (Serino et al., 2008, p. 6). The organization's name and the terms of the acronym are not translated for readers. This translation was either not considered necessary, or it was assumed that readers would understand it. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the organizational focus is on artists and supporting artists in a particular way. The brief description of this organization offers information about why this organization would collaborate with the City in a program like Red A.i.R. Both the City and Kunstenaars&Co are interested in promoting artists as entrepreneurs and active participants in the promotion of art and culture in public space. The City's perspective on artists' active roles in the cultural and creative industries and their potential contributions to the city's quality of life also corresponds with this organization's intention to support artists as entrepreneurs.

The rest of the document includes brief biographies of the artists who participated in the residency. Readers learn that only one of the artists is from the Netherlands, while all except one have received artistic training at institutes in the Netherlands. This might relate to the artists' presumed capabilities to contribute to the cultural context of the program, or it might simply be why these artists were willing to participate in the program, since it is likely that they were living or working in the Netherlands relatively recently. In either case, the artists would have some connection to their socio-cultural surroundings due to their experiences in the Netherlands.

---

<sup>22</sup> The document also mentions that Red A.i.R was a "particularly welcome addition to the museum's touring programme" around the city since it was taking place when the museum was closed for renovation (Serino et al., 2008, p. 6).

**Overview of the Project (Discoursal Practices):**

- Opening event: Professional performance, “Clean Up”
- Main events were temporary installations under the title “Opening Soon/Opening Now”
- Artist temporarily transformed the studio into different public/semi-public spaces which included: “Public Library”; “Golf Club”; “Institute for Cultural Remembrance and Mnemonic Practices”; “Turkish Snackbar”; “Agnostic Temple”; “Symposium for Urban Investment”; “Public Swimming Pool”; and “Anne Frank Museum, New Wing”.<sup>23</sup>

**Overview of the Project (Sociocultural Practices):**

- Invited members into the space to observe the studio and imagine alternative possibilities for its function within the city
- Prompted different interactions between users of the space
- Engaged with the public who observed the artist act work and within her studio
- Encouraged critical reflection about the socio-spatial situation of art, artist and space within the city

Laurence Aëgerter is a mixed media artist who had been working in Amsterdam for 15 years at the time of the residency. Through art, her work explores social codes and different perspectives, using everyday objects and various classification systems. During Red A.i.R, the artist’s studio became “the object of her research”, and she experimented with the functionality of the former brothel within the everyday life and space of the city. During her project, titled “Opening Soon|Opening Now”, the space changed eight times, with each transformation revealing a drastically different possibility for the space. The divergent list of places that she created (presented above) speaks to the variety of potential functions that she envisioned for the space, and it is indicative of the diverse audiences she reached out to through her residency. It also reflects an underlying uncertainty that was foundational to the project and/or the space in which the artist worked. Due to the transient nature of the space during the project, for the majority of the time, her studio was under construction, in a transitional state from one place to another. Each place was open for only a few days at most, so for a large portion of the residency, her studio displayed a flyer that advertised the place that was “Opening Soon” (e.g. *see* Appendix C, 5.3 1), informing the public of when the space would next open and what it would offer; then, the sign would display “Opening Now”, for the short duration of each installation (e.g. *see* Appendix C, 5.3 2).

---

<sup>23</sup> In my analysis, I focus on those installations that are marked with an asterisk. I selected these because they were the most visible events and were advertised and open to the general public. They also illustrate the diverse ways the artist experimented with the space and engaged with different members of the public. Additionally, these are three of the events that the artist includes in her contribution to the journal, which I analyze as part of an academic discourse of reform, in Chapter 6.7.3.

The program document explained that each transformation was “imbued with playfulness and light spirit, yet realized in a very precise and careful manner”, suggesting, “The artist has provided the public attending these events with a glimpse of a wide range of alternatives”. It continues to inquire: “Will those episodes inspire future actions or new visions for this space? Or was the experience of a single moment good enough”(Serino et al., 2008, p. 6)? These questions remain open-ended and present the possibility that the artist’s work has had an impact on the space. The first question leads us to wonder if this impact has been great enough to influence the socio-spatial context in the future. The second question implies that the transformations might remain confined to those instances during the residency, but it implies that the artist’s work has been significant, either way. For the final presentation, the artist presented images from the different transformations and images of the poster that was used to advertise her studio through the Opening Soon|Opening Now concept.

The first event in Laurence Aëgerter’s studio was a staged performance by professional cleaners, titled “Clean Up” (*see* Appendix C, 5.3 3). This performance was part of the Red A.i.R opening, held on January 22, 2009, and I observed the cleaning while I was attending the opening of the residency program. The cleaning occurred over one and a half hours in the late afternoon into the early evening. Hired professional cleaners performed a ritual cleansing of the artist’s studio, on the inside and outside, approaching the former brothel window from the street and continuing to clean the building’s façade and the sidewalk out front. There is not an obvious way to interpret this staged event. I expect that different people experienced the scene differently; furthermore, those individuals who reflected on the artist’s intentionality- assuming there was any- could have arrived at different conclusions. The external nature of the cleansing implies that the artist did not actually believe that the space was dirty, but instead, she hired cleaners to perform the ritual for the public. This superficial cleaning could be seen to respond to the socio-spatial function of the space that had been ingrained in the life of the city throughout history and had also become ingrained in the public’s perception of the space. Since a cleaning was not necessary (i.e. staged) between the later events/exhibitions that comprised the artist’s project. This first event represented a break from the time and space that came before the Red A.i.R program.

The “Clean up” performance offered the first example of this kind of unpredictable production with unforeseen potential. Since she intended to experiment with the social/public use of this space, the performative event enacted this cleansing for the public. For viewers, the audience, who witnessed the professional cleaners performing “Clean Up” on the former brothel/artist’s studio, this could have drawn their attention to a moment of change in the socio-spatial life of this particular place in the city. It also could have highlighted the idea that the City intended to clean up public spaces by removing prostitutes from the windows. In this light, the past is associated with what is being cleaned or swept away, and the future is associated with the artist and her space, which begins as a clean canvas. The artist does not present this performative cleansing between her distinct

installations in the space. However, each time she presents an upcoming event and an opening, the prior installations are acknowledged. She achieves this with a poster that is an ongoing list of the events that are “Opening Soon”, then “Opening Now”, and after each occurs, they are stricken from the list, but remain present. Thus, she does not begin her transformations with a blank canvas, but instead, each space begins from the place that came before, which retains traces of those that preceded them.

I visited Laurence’s studio at the first event after the cleaning, “Public Library”. I had the chance to speak with the artist, who was sitting at a desk where she was accessible to anyone who wanted to ask her about her project or request assistance in the library. I specifically asked her if she had intended to convey anything with the cleaning and if the library had a particular significance for her project. She told me that she was uncertain about her intentions for the project. However, this did not mean that the process and production did not mean something to the people who witnessed the staged cleaning of her studio or visited the library or the other spaces she would create later in the residency. Even if the artist was not aware of all of the ways that the work was or would become significant, she had reflected on its potential in ways that relate to its actual or future potential.

“Public Library” was the first event that welcomed people into the artist’s studio through the “Opening Soon | Opening Now” program (*see* Appendix C, 5.3 4). On the first floor, visitors found the artist sitting at a desk, welcoming her audience/patrons of the library, but also working in the library (*see* Appendix C, 5.3 5). Interested individuals found out that the artist had set up the first floor of the brothel to resemble a public library (*see* Appendix C, 5.3 6), and she had organized the books according to a specific archiving system, which she continued to research, as she oversaw the public event. In addition to the public library and the books, the former brothel also provided spaces for public and private reading rooms, which the artist created as part of the library environment. On the second floor, she set up tables for more isolated reading (*see* Appendix C, 5.3 7), and on the third floor, she provided beanbags for a more relaxed reading setting, where a range of books were offered for visitors lounging on the floor. Behind closed doors, the artist also held private readings with selected men and women in private reading rooms, who she asked to participate in a side project that she was working on from her studio.

From the outside, the public library did not introduce a drastic intervention in the social life or space of this street. In fact, it almost blended in with the residential elements of the canal houses, some of which actually were residences and displayed the typical Dutch feature of floor to ceiling windows and also showcased the common Amsterdam household item of large bookshelves with vast collections. The second and third floors of the library were set up in a more homely way, as reading rooms for visitors to use in more comfortable settings. Therefore, these also provided a more residential atmosphere that blended in from the street view, when viewing the street as a residential area.

The people who visited the library had different interests and reasons for stopping by. Some visitors were local residents who found out about the project when they passed by in their day-to-day activities. They dropped in to see the final product that they had witnessed in progress, or perhaps were interested in seeing the inside of a space that they had never entered when it had served as a brothel. Other visitors were artists who were participating in the program or were friends or colleagues of the artists. There were also visitors from the public who had heard of the program through other channels, for example through the Redlight Amsterdam website, the RED A.i.R Depository, the blog that Serino posted on sporadically throughout the program, or the participating artists' websites.

The public library was followed by a "Golf Club and an "Institute for cultural remembrance and mnemonic practices". These two spaces were not open to the public but were meant for certain audiences. On June 6, Aëgerter opened her studio again, for just one night, inviting the public to a Turkish Snack Bar that she had created in her studio. The snack bar was open from 6pm until midnight and served traditional Turkish pizzas, deserts and drinks. The space drastically differed from the library, which was a quiet, studious space that was populated during the day. The snack bar stood out on the residential street. Before the opening, one might have assumed that in this form, the space might have fit in better before the City had shut down the surrounding brothels. However, when the snack bar opened, it was apparent that she had created an attraction that appealed to all kinds of people, of different ages, from different parts of the city. While the library was a space that people might have been interested in for a particular reason, the snack bar was somewhere that people stopped in because it was intriguing and welcoming. It was a social environment that people gathered around on the street, and it created a little buzz of activity around a street that tended to be subdued more often than not. The artist's "Opening Now" sign was accompanied by an "open" sign, which was the typical flashing sign that these snack bars used throughout the city to alert customers of their presence, informing the public that her studio was open for their business (*see* Appendix C, 5.3 8). It was also a familiar symbol that represented the general kind of establishment that was found behind this kind of welcome sign. The snack bar attracted a steady flow of customers, though it did not get over crowded or cause a nuisance in the small street. In fact, it was interesting to see that the crowd included a lot of families, some with young children, who enjoyed the atmosphere of the social street life (*see* Appendix C, 5.3 9). Her decision to create this particular environment, which imitates a late night fast food snack bar, is interesting because the City had stated its desire to improve the quality of restaurants in this area. However, her careful transformation of the brothel into this completely different space and her attention to the details of these particular kinds of establishments presented visitors with the experience of a Turkish Snack Bar that seemed to merge the artist's experimental process with ideas of culture, authenticity and city life.

Aëgerter's final public event took place on August 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup>, when her studio was opened to the public as a swimming pool. The ground floor contained the pool itself, which was

visible through the large (former brothel) window (*see* Appendix C, 5.3 10). A timetable was posted outside the studio to inform the public about when the pool was open for recreational swimming and when there would be sessions for particular activities or groups (*see* Appendix C, 5.3 11), including maternity swimming, competition training, aqua-aerobics and children's swimming lessons. On the top floors of the studio, the artist offered visitors changing rooms and lockers. The swimming pool introduced a sharp contrast into the visual landscape of the street. Unlike the library and even the snack bar, it was clearly out of place on the residential street, though it did not offend the locals or the surrounding public space, and it attracted social gatherings of neighbors and passersby who enjoyed the unique scene and the atmosphere it created. With her last experiment, Aëgerter created a space that really challenged people to appreciate the potentiality of these spaces once they are not constrained by preconceptions relating to their socio-spatial functions.

The events that I have described in detail were open to the general public and took place in the artist's studio at different times during Red A.i.R. The artist also experimented with the space in other ways, as I mentioned, some more or less public than others. The public events were extremely diverse, while they simultaneously seem to retain- or appeal to- an element of Amsterdam's cultural landscape in their own ways, and it is clear that the selections were careful. The "Public Library", "Turkish Snackbar" and "Swimming Pool" exemplify the artists' careful selection of public spaces that are distinct in the ways that they manifested in public space and the life of the city. Even though the places she created were constrained by the walls of her studio, their locations on the residential street, and their contextualization in the city- and its discourses for policy and reform- she diverted attention away from these constraints and directed the public's focus towards their unbounded potential.

While Aëgerter's studio changed drastically as she transformed it into different spaces that served different functions, she retained the clock and the sink as two constant features in her studio, "as a visual anchor to the different compositions" (Aëgerter, 2012, p. 190). No matter how drastically the spaces changed, these two elements remained the same as they were when she entered the studio, reminding visitors that the history of the spaces was still part of the present, and alongside the drastic transformations, there were also important ways that the spaces remained the same, in terms of their socio-spatial and structural compositions. For her final show, the artist produced staged photographs of the different spaces she had created, projecting each image of the space on the wall of the room where the sink and clock were located. These images emphasized the way that her project temporarily transformed- or imagined- the space, while it remained the same and retained elements of its past. A selection of these images are reproduced in the journal section that I analyze in chapter 6.7.3, where I consider them more in depth due to their inclusion in an academic journal, where they are more widely accessible and remain available for public viewing.

**Overview of the Project (Social Practices):**

- Focus groups on “Perceptions of Choice”
- Discussions with Logician/Rational Choice Theorist Michael Franke
- Presentation at Red A.i.R concluding event: A Second Exchange<sup>24</sup>
  - Participation on panel about “Redesigning the City”
  - Blake’s talk, based on her focus group research and her discussions with Franke, was titled: IN/OUT/EITHER/NEITHER, reflections of a choice.

From the start, as we read in the published biographies of the artist, Blake was interested in subjectivity and exchanges, and she uses her work to question and expose and resist power structures that work on individuals and groups. We are initially informed that Alexis Blake works to create a “performative space, which explores the paradoxes of one’s being and economies of exchange” (Serino et al, 2008, p. 20). From this description, it might seem clear- in a broad sense- why Blake is interested in the Red A.i.R program. The description in the program text refers to the idea of exchange, which is a key theme in this discourse of reform, notably in the program for the concluding event. The program document for “A Second Exchange” tells us: “One of the main questions Alexis Blake investigates in her work is about the mechanisms of subjectivization and identity creation within a collective or a group” (Serino, 2009a, p. 8). It is possible that this relates to the artist’s subjectivity within the context of the residency program and in relation to the other artists. However, the text explains that Blake’s reflections extended beyond this specific context:

As a resident artist of Red A.i.R, a project attached to the new city cultural policy expressed by the slogan I Amsterdam, the artist felt that her position was heavily framed by the logic of this branding, a logic that -as we read in the ‘I Amsterdam Manifesto’- tends to include all cultural production happening in the city as an expression of the City (Serino, 2009a, p. 8).

This quote illustrates Blake’s interest in the paradoxical logic of the City’s cultural policy, which could be both constraining (through framing her position) and inclusive (within the city), so that as an artist in the city, she was an expression of the city and the I amsterdam brand.

Part of Blake’s project involved focus groups with professionals who were variously involved with the creation of the city’s new image. “In her investigation into the contradictory position in which an artist is expected to show creativity she focused on the concept of choice”(Serino, 2009a, p. 8). Blake also worked with logician and philosopher, Michael Franke, who helped her theoretically reflect on her position in the residency in terms of rational choice and game

---

<sup>24</sup> This is the component of the project that I focus on in this section. References to the panel discussion are cited with approximate times at which the quote began on the video that is still available on the internet at the time of writing (Redlight Art, 2009).

theory. For the final presentation, Blake presented segments from the focus groups and an installation that was based on her talks with Franke, titled “The hole is greater than the sum of its parts” (Blake, 2009). Her final presentation, titled ‘IN/OUT/EITHER/NEITHER, Reflections of a Choice’, was part of the public program at the conclusion of Red A.i.R. This information is provided in the program for the final presentations, so the public that attended was informed of this general background of Blake’s work and her intention to discuss her work and her experiences in relation to the concept of choice, on a more subjective and reflexive level.

In the context of Amsterdam and the Red A.i.R residency, she took the opportunity to work with the City’s branding campaign, which she felt was largely linked to the context in which she was working. The brand itself expressed an identity of the city and its subjects through its statement “I amsterdam”; moreover, it conveyed a logic of cultural production through branding certain processes that were framed within a context of policy and reform that implied their expression of the city’s image and identity. In this way, city branding became a strategy for linking cultural processes with the production of the city’s cultural image and identity. It is this logic of processing and producing cultural content that Blake critically questioned through the concept of choice. Considering this topic in relation to herself allowed her to remain aware of the choices she had and the constraints that she was working with, in the context of the residency and in the broader framework of reform in the city. It is also worth mentioning that the city branding campaign was introduced through the idea of “Choosing Amsterdam”, which was the title of the document that introduced the marketing strategy in its earliest version (Berenschot, 2003), and the value of choice. In *The Making of... the city marketing of Amsterdam*, this is explicated in relation to “the idea behind and mission of I amsterdam”:

The starting point is the Amsterdammer, city ambassador. I amsterdam is the slogan for both people and area. I amsterdam allows the people to voice their pride and confidence while expressing support and love for their city. I amsterdam can be used in many ways, but must always come from the people; this is the slogan’s true power. The people who live here, the people who work here, the people who study here, the people who visit here and the people who come to Amsterdam seeking a better future are, in the end, the best evidence for why Amsterdam is a city of choice (Berenschot, 2004, p. 45).

Thus, the discourse on marketing and branding the city was developed around the idea that subjects of the brand would identify with the city and express this through its brand. Without specifically referring to this connotation of choice, Blake does reflect on the city’s brand and its broader implications, perhaps most elaborately through her focus groups on “perceptions of choice”.

For part of her project, Alexis Blake conducted focus groups at the Steedelijk Museum’s de Bouwekeet at the Museumplein. Blake’s decision to hold the focus groups outside of her studio emphasizes the fact that she did not want the focus groups to be framed by the space of her residency. On the other hand, it is likely that Blake’s decision to hold her focus groups in this context relates to her ongoing critical reflection on the city branding and her relationship to the City’s reform strategies. Even though she consciously removed herself from the frame in which she was meant to



work, she chose to critically engage with the broader context of policy and reform, perhaps because she recognized this was an inevitability of her situation.

The Museumplein is not located in the historical city center, and it does not fall within the 1012 postcode. It also does not contain any of the city's red light windows. Therefore, there are obvious ways that the location of her focus groups was spatially distinguished from the Red A.i.R program and the City's agenda for the artists and their studios. Instead of working in the context that corresponded with the symbolic value of the Redlight Amsterdam initiative, Blake chose a location that had gained recognition for the large "I amsterdam" letters that were positioned in the center of the Museumplein. These were the City's iconic representation of its brand, which were positioned in the center of the square, in front of three of Amsterdam's most renowned museums, hence its name, the Museumplein. Thus, she chose to reframe her cultural and creative processes by contextualizing her work in relation to another discourse and context of reform, where she critically engaged with the city's brand in this part of the city. This area, located in the south central part of the city, is where the Van Gogh Museum, the Stedelijk Museum and the Rijksmuseum are located, all within minutes of each other. Therefore, the area attracts many of the city's tourists, who are drawn to these museums during their visits to the city. Since the appearance of the I amsterdam letters, visitors have enjoyed photographing themselves with the letters, often climbing the sculpture-like structures in front of some of the city's most well-known cultural institutions.

Her focus groups were conducted under the theme "perceptions of choice" and included participants who were professionally engaged with cultural practices and were also variously involved or interested in the reforms that were taking place in the city. As mentioned earlier in this section, the outcome of the artist's research was a presentation, which was then turned into a script and later a journal article, each including fragments of the dialogues from the focus groups and quotations and equations from her discussions with rational choice theorist Franke. Her presentation, "IN/OUT/EITHER/NEITHER, Reflections of a Choice" was presented at the final event of Red A.i.R, *A Second Exchange*, and it was also formulated as a script that was published in Achim Lengerer's workspace, which had become the instant publishing house "Scriptings". Blake's script was *Scriptings* #8: IN/OUT/EITHER/NEITHER. In 2012, this script was included in a special feature of the journal *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action* (Blake, 2012, pp. 180-189), titled "Re-making a Landscape of Prostitution: the Amsterdam Red Light District" (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, pp. 112-201), which I analyze in chapter 6.7.2.

My decision to focus on Blake's final presentation is largely based on the fact that this event was the most publicly accessible part of her project. The video recordings from the final talks and presentations at the end of Red A.i.R are still available for online viewing (Blake, 2009)<sup>25</sup>, and a

---

<sup>25</sup> In my analysis of the panel and Blake's presentation, the timings of quotes are taken from the online video recording: <http://vimeo.com/album/173219/video/8534580>.

portion of the text is accessible as a script in the journal in which it was published. In this respect, these resources can be considered to be relevant and significant, in contrast with the works from the temporary program that are now largely unavailable- even online. Her presentation also offers a discourse that can be analyzed in the context of this final event, and in its later form, in the academic discourse, where it later appeared in the publication that I analyze as part of the academic discourse of reform.

The first part of the three-day concluding public program took place on September 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009 at a location on the Oudezijds Achterburgwal, which remains in the center of the Red Light District. The first event featured a diverse panel of individuals who discussed their views on the topic “Redesigning the City”. Along with Blake, the participants included Gideon Boie of BAVO (an independent organization for art, architecture and planning-based research and activism) and Vinca Kruk and Gon Zifroni of the research and design studio Metahaven. It was moderated by Huib Haye van der Werf from the Netherlands Institute for Architecture<sup>26</sup>. I will not analyze the full transcript of the panel discussion, but I consider important general and structural elements of the public presentation and more specific aspects of Blake’s presentation.

The program was organized as a panel of different people who were interested in culture and creativity in Amsterdam. Other than Blake, who directly participated in Red A.i.R, the other panel members worked with independent organizations, while the moderator was the only person who was affiliated with a national publicly and privately funded cultural institution. The general structure of the panel suggests that the moderator’s role was to provide the general introductions to the event and the panel members, and each of the speakers would make a presentation. The panel setup also suggested that the panel members would have the opportunity to interact with each other during the event, which is also implied by the term “exchange” in the title of the event. The audience would also have opportunities to engage with the speakers.

The first presentation is from Gideon Boie, who is a speaker from the independent organization BAVO. He begins his presentation with a simplistic explanatory introduction: “I will talk about the question that I was asked to talk about which is the position of the artists in Amsterdam today” (4m 59s). This statement directs our attention to the fact that this speaker is not responding to the topic at the center of the presentations, namely, Designing the City. Instead, his remark implies that this panel approaches the idea of designing the city in relation to the role of artists in Amsterdam. In other words, the role of artists is at least partly related to the idea of designing the city. From this perspective, artists become agents of the process of reforming the city, for example through initiatives like Red A.i.R.

---

<sup>26</sup> As of January 1, 2013, this has become incorporated into Het Nieuwe Instituut following a merger with Premesla, the Netherlands Institute for Design and Fashion and Virtueel Platform, the e-culture knowledge institute.

The main topic of his presentation is “the context in which art is operating today in Amsterdam” and concerns “the central ambition [*Centrale ambitie*] proposed by the central government which is *Metropool Amsterdam*. It’s an ambition that is put forward that should be achieved around 2040” (5m 47s). Broadly speaking, Boie suggests that artists are now positioned in the context of this ambition, and they are increasingly expected to work in accordance with its objectives and ideals. While he clarifies that he does not mean that artists are forced to act within this ambition, he suggests that they are being “asked or requested to participate within this central ambition” (6m 53s).

Blake is the final panelist to present, and her talk is brief. Therefore, she has a lot of time to engage with the moderator and answer questions. Through these interactions, she offers information about what she wants the public to know about her experiences during the residency and her perspectives on art, artists and her role in the city.

Blake tells the audience about her focus groups, explaining that she invited individuals who “in some way shaped the image of Amsterdam” (1m 11s). The focus group sessions centered on the topic of choice, and in the sessions, she looked at how “individuals reflect upon the notion of choice” (1m 24s).

Blake introduces the concept of the focus group and quotes from a dialogue from one of the focus groups that took place on July 18<sup>th</sup>. She proceeds to explain:

My decision to choose choice uh derived from the inaccessibility I found in being instrumentalized in a residency like this and being faced with the polemics. So, I felt extremely limited in my choices and what to make as an artist, caught in a catch 22, so during the conversations that I had with a philosopher of rational choice and game theory, my situation was broken down into a very pragmatic and logical way, unlike the focus groups that were open ended and abstract. The objective in talking with the philosopher was uh not about solutions but in creating for me a visual way of representing the conflicting view of this residency. So, we began. This is a logical space (3m 36s).

At this point, Blake begins to draw dots in the space of a square on the overhead projector (4m 48s), and she explains, in reference to the dots “these are all the possible worlds, so the things that could be”. She continues with her visual representation, drawing shapes around groups of dots, explaining that the different groupings represent possible things. The examples that she provides include her (“this could be me”), “curator”, and “let’s say, this is the City of Amsterdam” (5m 18s), which she designates by writing “I Amsterdam”. She explains that there are various shapes that could be included, but basically, the different shapes represent the different agents’ beliefs, and “as you can see, there’s no overlapping of all the parties involved, and that’s because there’s no common denominator between all of these agents. Thus, we have incompatible beliefs” (5m 43s) (*see* Appendix C, 5.4 1).

6m 6s: “Thus we have incompatible views. So, knowing this, I have to choose what my preferences are. So, what I feel is fair, what I’m unable to compromise, and what I can actually produce given the circumstances in this game of cooperation”.

6m 48s [explaining equation on overhead projection] (*see* Appendix C, 5.4 2): “My decision based on me the agent the artist and my preferences”:

I can be in or I can be out. [describing formula] Again that’s me the agent (mmm) If I choose in then I become what has been coined and used so vigorously in the City’s branding campaign as the creative entrepreneur. If I choose out, then I take on an authoritative position, determining what is wrong and what is right. I would automatically then limit my potential for a constructive dialogue and label myself as the other. Now, there’s a different, an additive to this decision. [Draws another equation] (*see* Appendix C, 5.4 3). If I apply a Indian logic to this situation, then I include the choices of either and neither. If I choose either then I take an indifferent position which would insinuate that I would care less if I was in or out, and I would be fine if I was one or the other. However if I choose neither, then I could find possibly my mix autonomy in this residency (6m 55s).

In the statements above, Blake refers to herself twice as “me the agent”, which emphasizes the way that she reflects on her subjectivity in the context of the residency. This also emphasizes the idea that in her equation “A” stands for agent, although at first, she equates artist with agent. While her presentation is a reflection on her conflicted position in relation to the City’s agenda for her, as an artist who is supposed to serve a certain role, she asserts her agency and is unwilling to compromise this even if she realizes that her position is constrained in certain ways.

After updating the equations based on the choices that she draws out in her presentation, Blake turns to a question that sounds rhetorical. However, it takes a dual meaning for those who visited her studio and recognize its literal meaning. She asks: “So, what do you do when the powers that be dig a big massive hole in your studio? ... I guess it’s a matter of perception. How do you see this hole? Are you in are you out? Are you either or are you neither? Do you accept your limitations?” (9m 6s).

For the audience, Blake only briefly alludes to the situation she faced, when the City of Amsterdam unexpectedly began working on her studio while she was still participating in the residency. The City decided it was more important to start digging up the floor of her studio than to let her finish her work without interruption. For the artist, this was a clear indication of the City’s prioritization of the future plans for the buildings and a lack of interest in the temporary people or projects that were occupying the spaces. While Blake originally questioned her own intention of considering herself “in” or “out”, based on her position as an artist and agent in the context of the City’s gentrification agenda, this experience led her to reframe this question as a subject of the city: *Was she in or out as far as the City was concerned? If the City was indifferent to her: was this constraining or liberating for her situation as an artist? And, how did this reflection on the City influence her choice to be “in”, “out”, or as she added to her reflection, “either”, or “neither”?*

The moderator asks Blake:

By outsourcing your role or your position, by handing it over to a moderator in this dialogue, being on the outside in that situation. You did hand over this... You did hand this over. Or maybe that’s the question. Were you aware of handing this over?

Blake responds:

Blake: Yeah, definitely. Then handing it over to the philosopher again... I was on the outskirts, or kind of observing what was going on, observing kind of these interactions... I'm quite aware of that dichotomy... I found it very difficult, um, in relation to all the parties that were there uh involved in this project to um as we talked about, to um find my own autonomy or to find my position cause I know I didn't want to create an object in the space kind of perpetuating a similar kind of exchange from the history of these spaces, but rather create a dialogue and kind of open up that dialogue to outside of this residency (11m 36).

The moderator asks Blake to reflect on her position, after the fact, questioning if she “feels like she is part of the residency now”, making reference to her final project that is on display as part of the artists' final exhibitions, or if she ever felt like she was. She responds by referring back to the hole that she briefly spoke of in her presentation:

If you take it to that space, or presenting that space, um, you know I say, you're presented with this hole. You know, you can shut the door; you can say, ok, uh, we're not gonna exhibit here, and nobody sees that. But, I think that also I think this hole is a reflection of the polemics of a- of a- project like this because obviously the people that dug this hole don't necessarily respect the actions that are happening in these places (14m 43s).

While the moderator attempts to bring Blake's focus to the idea of “creative collaboration” (or as she reminds him is more accurately described as “creative coalitions”, as described in the prior presentation), Blake continues to reflect on her position in the residency:

And that's my thing about *in* or *out* because I don't think those are productive situations. Uh uh, excuse me, *choices*. You know, if you're in, then you illustrate and you represent uh, the city's initiative; if you're out, then your kind of unlimit [unclear] yourself from a constructive dialogue. And for me, that was, that was the most appropriate way for me to show or present something, right? Because it's not- this is not- an exhibition; it's a- it's a- presentation, and I think that, you know, I'm not speaking for all the artists in this project, but I know that in the conversations I've had, it's been a struggle because: What do you show? How do you present? So I think it's an interesting discourse on uh representation, on display.

In response, the moderator questions Blake's use of the term “display:

*Display*, you mean what you display to us? The power struggles of a whole different kind? Where Alexis has a um uh. Well, let me just take it back one step. Is there a literal aesthetic in what you present? Are those holes, do you know the artist, as it was mentioned earlier, they expect a painter with wild emotions, lots of wine, candlelight, late nights, group parties, um when when the end, yeah, when in the end, you show holes in the ground, and um texts from dialogues that have taken place and an overhead projector presentation, what's, how do you, the whole comparison is perhaps an unfair question, but what exactly do you count as work? Is it the whole process? Where's the, do you position yourself also outside the aesthetic? Outside the role of being an artist? Rather than just the residency (16m 58s)?

Blake cuts off the moderator, simply and clearly responding, “I don't really want to answer that question right now” (17m 59s).

The difference between Blake's and the moderator's perceptions of the space and the role of the artist is significant. Blake reflected on her position as irreconcilable with the City's agenda and the context of reform; in contrast, the moderator's question implies an idealized view of art and artists in

the city that is aligned with the City's plans for the residency program and enables him to critically question Blake's role as an artist in the city.

At this point, other members of the panel enter the conversation with comments directed towards the moderator. One of the panel participants asks the moderator about conceptual art, saying it is about moments, thinking, a process that goes beyond what they are talking about. Another notes that the process is also about the space and the process of reflection, which was a key objective of the project. He says that it is productive if her process helps her "display herself to Amsterdam" (18m 50s).

When Angela Serino has the opportunity to speak from the audience, she explains the difficulty she confronted when she realized that the different institutions that she worked with all had different agendas and objectives for the project. She uses the housing corporation de Key as an example, explaining that for them, a priority was neighborhood involvement and "the visibility of change...starting from the windows" (24m 32s), and the aim "was to replace the body of the sex worker with the body of the artist" (24m 43s) through "a community arts project". On the other hand, for the City of Amsterdam the project was "a tool to create international visibility" (25m 14s) to show that the City gives space to artists.

When a panel member questions the notion of community that Serino refers to when she speaks of "community art project", this leads to a discussion about the relationship of artists and the community. While the residency did not necessarily function as the type of community arts project that de Key had intended for it, it apparently fostered a sense of community among the artists. This was apparent throughout the residency in the ways that different participants worked together at various times. Furthermore, most of the artists invited different artists and other individuals to collaborate with them on various projects, and in this way, the residency cultivated a creative community of individuals who were engaged and interested in what was taking place in the studios. As two of the panel participants suggested, art and artistic reflection can involve collaboration among artists, and this was the case in the Red A.i.R. program.

Later in the presentation, I took the opportunity to ask Blake about her perception and use of the space in which she worked:

Earlier in the game, when you were finding yourself in this historical space, why it, why did you frame it as a place that had already been historically marked? Why didn't you enter this space and see yourself as an autonomous artist who could then open up a new window or create something completely fresh regardless of whether the people who looked into it saw it with preconceived notions (42m 06s)?

She first stated that it was important to think about what the term fresh means, and continued to explain:

You're coming into such a heavy context. It's not just the history of these spaces. Yeah, you have uh the neighbors that are very happy, there are some that are upset that the prostitutes left, there are some that are happy, um, so you have that relationship there. There's also prostitutes just across the

street from you, so these spaces are still very much uh [indistinct comment from audience] there are logos on the window, your name is branded with this logo (43m 03s).

Blake's response to my question touches on important points that came up during her presentation. She refers to her position in the city, socio-spatially, in relation to the history of the city, but she also tells the audience that her contextualization in the residency program and in the former brothel is more than just historically significant. Blake also entered a space that was impacted by socio-cultural and spatial relations, which she referred to in relation to the neighbors and the prostitutes still working in the area. Finally, the artists were working in the context of the city branding initiative and were inevitably linked to the brand and in her view, were branded through the context of the residency.

Blake's reflections on her own subjectivity began with questioning the concept of choice, and she shifted from approaching her situation subjectively to rationally, presenting both logic and reflection in her final presentation. While this presentation began as a performance by the artist, it was part of a moderated panel discussion that included other speakers and a predetermined topic. Following Blake's presentation, the moderator asked probing questions, and the audience had the chance to interact with the artist and the panelists. Blake's presentation was turned into a script that retained certain points and a definitive structure that excluded external characters. This script would become the artist's contribution to an academic journal, represented as illustrative of Blake's contribution to the final Red A.i.R event.

Over all, Blake's different projects exemplify the different ways that Red A.i.R prompted a sense of community among creative people with related interests. Her focus groups brought together people with similar interests with different backgrounds and experiences<sup>27</sup> and joined them through her artistic, reflexive, research process. Blake's focus groups led to her collaboration with a rational choice theorist, who on the surface seems quite distant from the artist community. In her presentation at the Second Exchange, Blake illustrated how rational choice and logic entered into her artistic process and experiences, and more, became part of her work of art itself. The production of the script of her presentation, which Lengerer produced and published in his studio a month after the residency, is a clear example of collaboration among the artists. It also textually represents the links between Blake's different stages of her artistic processes and reflections. Through the format of a script, her work takes on a performative quality that allows her to detach from the reflective process that is represented by the text. Simultaneously, it structures and expresses the process for a

---

<sup>27</sup> She held three focus groups with different professionals. The first, on July 18<sup>th</sup> included people working in governmental affairs, including individuals working in public policy and city politics. She invited people working in communications to the second focus group on July 20<sup>th</sup>, including journalists, reporters, people working in radio and television and individuals writing for blogs. The final focus group on July 21<sup>st</sup> involved individuals involved in the Humanities and Social Sciences, such as researchers, professors, writers, theorists and museums. I took part in this final focus group (Serino, 2009).

broader public. In the following chapter, in section 6.7.2, we see how this script also becomes part of an academic discourse of reform.

---

### 5.5 *Discourses from Interventions: Concluding Remarks*

---

This chapter introduced analyses of discourses of reform from the context of intervention. It intended to refocus the perspective from which discourses of reform were analyzed through illuminating new perspectives that engaged with the context of reform in central Amsterdam. I selected a case study that related to my prior analysis of city marketing and the I Amsterdam brand that was more specifically linked to project 1012 and the area around the Red Light District. By narrowing my focus to a particular program that was taking place at a particular time and space in the reform context, my aim was to focus on how Red A.i.R intervened in the ongoing discourse and process of reform. This case study enabled me to study how this socio-spatial intervention had local and global implications. On the one hand, it was located on a residential street in the city center and was initiated through the collaboration between the City and a housing corporation. On the other hand, it involved participants from around the city and the world, and it targeted a local and an international audience in specific ways. The artists who were selected for the residency were identified as top creative talents, so they also fit into the target group of creative workers that is described in the policy/administrative discourse, who are valued for contributing to the city's cultural and creative industries.

This case study offered an opportunity to analyze an intervention that was based on the prioritization of creativity and the creative industry in the process of reforming the city center. This was not a straightforward case where the artists and their art were the valued input for designated contexts of reform. In the program for the concluding event, Angela Serino compares the situation of the artists today to Marina Abramovic, an artist who developed a performance titled "Role Exchange" for a show at de Appel art gallery, in 1976. Here, the audience learns why the concluding program is referred to as the "Second Exchange". For her show, the artist switched roles with a prostitute, so the prostitute took her place at the gallery opening, while the artist sat in a brothel window. Serino (2009a) explains:

The switch of places orchestrated by the artist created a temporary change of roles and identities between the two women, an experience of extreme intensity in which, as in other works by the same artist, her body became a tool to challenge people's value systems, expectations, morality, visions and thoughts (p. 5).

While Serino (2009a) acknowledges the difference in the conditions that have led to artists working in brothel windows in the contemporary context of the Red Light District, she continues to explain:

More than thirty years after this first exchange, the Redlight Art Amsterdam project evokes Abramovic's work and forces conjecture on the changed working conditions and the role of artists today (p. 5).



In the current situation, she suggests that artists and their bodies are again turned into “important sites for negotiations of powers and visions” (Serino, 2009a, p. 5). The title of the event was intentionally selected as a reference to the particular event that Serino describes in the text. Importantly, she highlights the different context in which the second exchange is occurring and highlights the different contextualization of artists within the exchange. In the first exchange, the performance was about the subjectivities of the artist and the prostitute and how their socio-spatial situations framed them and influenced public perceptions. Both the artist and the prostitute participated in the exchange, producing a performance that forced people to look beyond assumptions that were framed by particular socio-spatial situations. The second exchange took place under different conditions for numerous reasons. In the first case, the exchange was between the artist and the prostitute, involving both women in the artistic and socially reflective processes. In the brothel and in the museum, people’s preconceptions were challenged through the exchange, as they confronted women who became indistinguishable beyond their spheres of reference.

In the second case, there was also an exchange between prostitutes and artists, but this was one-sided. The exchange occurred after the brothels were shut down, and prostitutes were removed. Artists were invited into the buildings and expected to contribute to the process of reform through the value they added with their presence in the spaces and through their artistic productions. In contrast to Abromovic’s work, in which the artist exerted her agency and autonomy through employing her body as a tool within her artistic processes and productions, contemporary artists are contextualized differently when they become agents of cultural policy and reform. Furthermore, in this second exchange, the prostitute is removed from the equation.

In the current context, artists are frequently invited into cities to contribute to development and reform programs:

By embodying the values of originality, authorship and relentless creativity with their own life, in fact, the artists are largely recognized as a key factor in the urban redevelopment of the city. And their mere participation- or, as in this case, their presence alone in the studio spaces- could be seen as a way to support the system of institutions and of legitimizing this process of transformation (Serino, 2009a, p. 5).

When Serino elaborates on the distinction between the position of the artist in the 1970s and the current situation, she refers back to the notion of *Kunstenaars&CO*, of art and the artist as tools of a larger system and process. Serino (2009a) describes this perspective negatively when she offers her perception of the situations of the participants of *Red A.i.R.*:

The challenge that the artists and I have taken by accepting the invitation to take part in this project is to define the currency of the new exchange, to determine how or if it’s possible for Art genuinely to contribute to the redefinition of Amsterdam, in a way which takes into account the given framework, as well as the autonomous position of Art (p. 6).

Serino situates the artists within the context of a neo-liberal economy and policy and reform in Amsterdam. She suggests that Art can only function in this context if there is a possibility for it to retain autonomy and simultaneously account for its situation and contextualization. Thus, for the curator and the artists, the main objective was to simultaneously account for the framework and context in which they were operating and make genuine, autonomous artistic contributions to the city. She specifically describes the challenge of Red A.i.R as defining “the currency of the new exchange” (Serino, 2009a, p. 6). In other words: *What is being exchanged? And, how is value attributed to elements in and through the process of exchange?*

When Serino (2009a) summarized the results of Red A.i.R, her overview suggests that Red A.i.R was primarily concerned with artists’ functions and practices in the contemporary social, spatial, cultural, political and economic condition: these individuals were processing and producing cultural content through reflexive and interactive engagements with their social and spatial situations. She explained:

The resident artists of RED A.i.R do not to [sic] offer solutions to the problems of the gentrification of this part of the city. Their aim was rather to create new spaces for reflection. Through heterogeneous artistic practices and various media, they underline specific elements of this new position [of artists], offer different perspectives on the past or the future of those places, or simply comment on the [sic] their experience of being part of this process (p. 6).

This summary of the works from Red A.i.R suggests that the artists were processing and reflecting on their situations as they performed their roles as artists in the context of the residency program. The discourses of strategic city marketing and cultural policy and reform convey particular ideals and imperatives that we can associate with the City’s intended strategy that resulted in the replacement of brothels with artists’ studios and the establishment of a temporary artist in residency program in these spaces. This administrative/policy discourse corresponds with the discourse that I analyzed in the preceding chapters on city marketing and branding and project 1012. The question here is how the artists’ reflections and practices confronted and engaged with the context in which they were inevitably implicated by discourses of policy and reform. Serino (2009a) emphasizes the value of the artists’ contributions in relation to the quality derived through interaction and public engagement, which relate to the artists’ aims to stimulate reflection and open up new possibilities of perception and experience:

The images they produced are poetic, disturbing, apparently not functional, sometimes controversial. Their value is to expand fixed repertoires of thoughts, visions and understanding of this reality. Moreover, they are images which are not consumable in a passive way, but rather require the attention and dedication of the viewer. While most of the visual communication of today emphasizes sensation and contains a univocal message, the images of these artists are intentionally ambiguous, never pointing to one final message, but rather seeking a dialogue with the public (pp. 6-7).

The way that Serino describes the art suggests that we will not be able to find a simple message in the images that are included in the document. As far as she understands the works, they

do not convey unified messages that the artists wanted to express; instead, the artists intended to invoke engagement with viewers and prompt dialogues about certain situations or spaces that related to their own reflections on their experiences as artists in the city. In fact, it is through these interactive encounters that the works from Red A.i.R acquired meaning within the city. This is also how the residency program is able to intervene in the life and space of the city and contribute to a discourse of intervention on policy and reform.

It is clear that exchange was a key concept in this discourse of reform. This implicitly referred back to the first exchange between an artist and a prostitute in Abramovic's 1970 performance. Red A.i.R becomes the "second exchange" between artists and prostitutes, which positions artists, prostitutes and the public very differently than in the first exchange, largely due to their positions in the context of cultural policy and reform. It is critical to explicate the nature of the exchange- or exchanges- at the center of Red A.i.R: Serino referred to the exchange of the subjects in the spaces, speaking of the exchange of the artist for the prostitute in the windows; this directs attention to the exchange of the functions of these spaces in the city, or the exchange of brothels for the studio spaces. I will suggest that brothels and prostitutes, on the one hand, and artists and their studios on the other, both operate as elements of the city's cultural image; additionally, both can be considered cultural industries (sex work and art in general, and in this case, the Red Light District and Redlight Art). Thus, we can conceptualize an exchange of art for prostitution, whereby the former is deemed beneficial or the latter is considered problematic; ultimately, the intention is that art becomes culturally significant in the context of the Redlight Amsterdam initiative. Here is an example of how policy equates culture with a concept of quality that is aligned with certain ideals and ideas of the City and opposed to others that are detached from the concept of culture in the discourse and context of reform. The Red Light District is associated with the positive aspects of the city's culture, such as liberalism and creativity, through the history and unique identity of the spaces of the Red Light District; the artists and their works, which are now products of the city's redlight studios, become symbols of the quality of the city's innovative and creative culture. The discourse on reform emphasizes the enhancements in the city, but it is founded on the idea that the changes were desirable and productive. If they were desirable, they were considered beneficial for the city's image and identity and the everyday lives of people living, working and passing through the city. If they were considered productive, they were considered solutions to the problems that prompted the City to develop a strategy for cultural policy and reform.

The artists who participated in Red A.i.R were not chosen to participate in the program based on their local ties to the city, insofar as they were not local Amsterdammers. On the other hand, in the Redlight Art document and the program for A Second Exchange, the artists' bios inform readers that all of the artists (except one) were artistically trained in the Netherlands; furthermore, they came from different countries, and only one of the nine artists was from the Netherlands (Serino et al., 2008; Serino, 2009a). Nevertheless, they were all part of a program that was meant to

improve the quality of life and space of the city through cultural policy and reform. The artists were only a small group of people who had a specific role in this program, but they are also representative of a target group that the City wanted to attract through its reforms. They were internationally educated (before receiving training in the Netherlands), creative workers who received an opportunity to work in Amsterdam to enhance the city's image through the cultural output of creative individuals. Strategically, it seemed productive to replace spaces of prostitution with other cultural activities; however, in reality, culture and cultural processes do not function in a cut and paste manner. The artists were critically reflexive about their positions and roles in the city, and their awareness and accountability to their situations was inextricable from their cultural processes and productions.

From the start, the artists in the Red A.i.R program were collectively engaged in a larger process of re-forming these public spaces. From the perspective of the administrators who commissioned the artists in residency, the artists were serving the social context in a variety of ways: they were replacing the sex workers, whose brothels had instantly transformed into artists' studios; they directed the public's attention to the City's plans to bring a new "quality of life" into the city by replacing the aspects of the areas that were linked to social pathology; they also worked in perpetuating the city's image as a "liberal" and tolerant space, in spite of the underlying intentions and implications of the plan that was being carried out. In this position, the artists were framed by the spaces that contextualized and constrained their artistic processes and productions.

As a temporary installment, we might assume that this artist in residency program was a short-term solution for a longer-term goal, which extended beyond the agenda of reducing the number of window prostitutes in the city center. I would argue that this is linked to the idea of the particular program that was used to reform this part of the city, specifically the artist in residency program. Through this temporary program, which defined former brothels as studios and also as residential spaces, the municipal council and collaborating partners directed the public's focus towards the reformed functions of the spaces that enhanced the residential quality in this part of the city; this was also implied by the second term, "residency", which simultaneously alluded to the City's purported intention of supporting these artists; these were the people who they proudly claimed were part of a wave of innovative, inspiring and creative individuals that would introduce a new cultural image and identity to the city. Simultaneously, this discourse reiterated the functionality of the artists' spaces for their future potential in the city along with the role that the artists would play with their cameos in the process of cultural reform.

This is to say that these individuals, simultaneously artists, cultural subjects and objects within the visual landscape, served a particular role within a socio-spatial plan in which their presence and their productions were valuable within a designated time for this public space. At times, the artists themselves became the content within their own frames, as they performed the transformations of the social context through their processes of artistic creation. In the conversations

that I had with the artists and those working alongside them, it was apparent that none of them lost sight of their position, betwixt and between the broader political agenda and their individual desires to produce art that was not constrained. On the one hand, it was the contextual conditions and their position as artists that enabled them to participate in the program; yet, this also situated them within the framework of an objective, political agenda that was inextricable from their working conditions and productive lives.

The transience of the program is also a key point that was illuminated through the artists' perspectives and their works. This extended beyond their own temporary situations in the residency, illuminating a process of displacement and revision that characterizes the space between the past and the future. Thus, their situations exemplify a distinct moment of transition in specific spaces in the city, where buildings were designated for particular kinds of reform: reform that would be achieved through re-forming culture over a predetermined length of time. After this time, the socio-spatial significance and functions of these spaces would be reconsidered. Of course, not only the buildings and the spaces are relevant for analysis, but perhaps more important are the people who interact with and through these spaces and in these exchanges in spatial functions and the life and culture of the city.

The Koortjepoortsteeg is a clear example of the drastic changes that have taken place in certain parts of the city. There used to be brothels operating on both sides of this small street; in contrast, by the time Red A.i.R began, only one prostitute's window remained amidst the artists' studios<sup>28</sup>, and this was the only window that did not display the city's Redlight Amsterdam logo or I amsterdam brand. This is interesting to consider from the perspective of tourists, for example, (as well as the artists and the solitary sex worker). Tourists might not be aware or invested in the situation that produced this interesting juxtaposition of the prostitute among artists. The tourist is likely to recognize references to Amsterdam's Red Light District, both in the reformed and existing brothels.

As we read in the policy documents introduced in the previous chapter, prostitution will not be completely removed from the city, so tourists who want to see the Amsterdam's Red Light District that is described as full of erotic offerings that are not available in other places will be able to find what they are looking for. However, those who wish to visit the Red Light District and avoid the sexual- perhaps shady- side of this scene, can visit the reformed version of this symbolic cultural quarter. In the spaces where we can no longer see prostitutes, we can still recognize spaces of prostitution, an idea that is reiterated through concepts like Redlight Art. Perhaps Redlight Fashion further emphasizes the ironic displacement of prostitutes through a politics of aesthetics: designers advertise clothing on mannequin's bodies that stand still in brothel windows, where naked women used to advertise themselves. Just as I have described the statue of the prostitute who stands outside

---

<sup>28</sup> At the time of writing, in December, 2014, there are no longer any prostitutes on the street.

the recently designated “prostitution-free zone” surrounding the Oudekerksplein, I would argue that it is the relationship between these former brothels, prostitution, aesthetics and policy that expresses contemporary culture through the socio-spatial governmentality of the city.

The presence and the absence of prostitutes in the windows in the Red Light District contribute to the discourse that is informing Amsterdam’s image and identity today. The City’s explication of its reformed cultural spaces and the implication of spaces that remain unbranded (and those people and places that have been displaced) contribute to the way that individuals interpret cultural content and determine what is meaningful. In this sense, culture becomes the effect of how we reflect upon the relationship between the past, its presence and the present. Thus, individuals subjectify themselves through enacting, embodying and performing culture, and even become media of its creation and transmission. Through their subjective situations and practiced individuality, cultural subjects transcend the constraints or limitations that are set by dominant discourses or institutions. In this context, we can not discuss a unitary culture, but instead it is the effect and reflection of inter-subjectivity that I will further suggest has the potential to offer a substantive intervention in culture in the context of policy and reform.

Individual subjects and groups, in their encounters and embodiments mediate and process culture and cultural flows, as they reflexively identify culture in terms of others and themselves. This is clearly counterintuitive to any need for-or possibility of- a “contemporary” or “universal” form, for example as the objectified concept of culture that is conveyed through branding and marketing discourses.

Even if the artist did not explicitly refer to the history of the studio space, it influenced how it was viewed and experienced by the artists and others who took part in the program and viewed the ongoing processes and productions. There were various ways that the city’s spaces would inscribe themselves upon the artists and the spaces throughout the residency and would impact their works. The artists or their works might be framed by the context of cultural policy and reform in which they were functioning as part of city’s agenda. In one way, they could appear as the new subjects of Amsterdam’s Red Light District, embodying the City’s ideals for higher quality culture through their situations in their studios, on display in the former brothel windows. On the other hand, when the artists appear behind the Red Light windows, they might appear to lose their autonomy and agency as artists in the context of the City’s agenda and the broader context of neo-liberalism.

The situation that I observed in this particular case left me wondering if the artists were supposed to work with or against the administrative agenda for reform. I would expect the City to want the artists to work alongside the administrative objectives for cultural reforms because these exchanges were deemed strategically beneficial in the context of reform. In other words, in cultural policies and discourses of reform, the City supported initiatives like Red A.i.R because they furthered the reform agenda. However, in practice, my research suggested that the City was less interested in the residency program than it was in the buildings that the artists were using. Alexis Blake described

this when she referred to the development work that began on her studio during the residency program, leaving a massive hole in the middle of her workspace. The City was not particularly concerned with the artists, as long as they functioned as artists within particular socio-spatial contexts of reform.

The City's disinterest in the artists suggests that the City does not consider the possibility that the artists will produce lasting or significant contributions through Red A.i.R. It reflects the City's view of the intervention, which first exchanged brothels and prostitutes for studios and artists, but is ultimately directed towards replacing studios and artists with a high quality residential neighborhood street.

## 6. AN ACADEMIC DISCOURSE ON REFORM: “RE-MAKING A LANDSCAPE OF PROSTITUTION”

---

### 6.1 *Re-making a Landscape of Prostitution: An academic discourse on reform in Amsterdam’s Red Light District*

---

My analysis of an academic discourse of reform is a key element of my critical approach towards discourse analysis, as I explained in chapter 2. I have decided to include my own work in this analysis because it enables me to reflect on my position as a researcher who is potentially influenced by and influential through discourses of reform. Furthermore, in my analyses, I look at how the articles present specific views and also form a holistic discourse on changes in the Red Light District. And, I consider how this academic discourse engages with the discourses that I analyzed in the prior chapters.

#### **Dimensions of discourse (Overview):**

**1st Text:** The text comes from a special feature that was published in the journal *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*. The title of the feature is “Re-making a Landscape of Prostitution: the Amsterdam Red Light District” (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012). It includes an introduction by two guest editors (who also contributed articles), four articles (including one that I wrote), a selection of works from Redlight Art (which come from the Red A.i.R program) with an introduction to the works by Angela Serino (the curator of the program), and an afterword.

**2nd Discoursal practices** (Production, interpretation): The special feature was produced after the authors met at a conference, where they presented papers on the Red Light District. As I have mentioned, I was one of the participants at this conference, and I contributed to the journal feature that is analyzed in this chapter. After the conference, they decided to collaborate to produce this special feature, where the conference papers could be published together. Additionally, they selected a journal where they could include the perspectives and works of the curator and the artists who were also involved in the Red Light District reforms. Thus, *City* journal was chosen as the platform for the special feature. This is a journal that is directed towards the academic community that is interested in studying contemporary cities, and it is a journal that takes a liberal and holistic approach towards research. Thus, it not only includes academic studies and perspectives, but it also incorporates research and work from practitioners- like the artists and curator- who are influencing contemporary cities and the ways that we study and experience them (Informa UK Limited, 2015).

The curator provided a reflective text, and the artists offered samples of their works from their residency. The contributors offered different ways of approaching and viewing the Red Light District. On the other hand, all of the contributions are framed within the overarching theme of the feature, which is the changing socio-spatial situation of prostitution within the context of



Amsterdam's Red Light District. The implication is that they offer important insight about the process of "re-making the landscape of prostitution".

This special feature presents an academic discourse on reform in Amsterdam's Red Light District. This is a particular discourse of reform that focuses on the changing (i.e. "re-making") context (i.e. "landscape") of prostitution. From this perspective, it offers diverse approaches for analyzing and theorizing the discourse and context of reform that I am researching in this project. The different topics that are addressed show the variety of ways that this context is considered from academic perspectives, and it compares the current context to different moments within the history of the Red Light District.

Aalbers and Dienema look at the changes in relation to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the introduction of the 1911 morality laws, the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the lifting of the brothel ban and the contemporary context, where Plan 1012 has begun to intervene; Zuckerwise takes a narrower focus, zooming in on the period leading up to the lifting of the brothel ban and legalization and the current interventions; Sabat's timeframe is between the two, looking at the Red Light District of the 1960s, where she observes more insipient and localized forms of regulated tolerance, in comparison to the contemporary Red Light District, which has become standardized in accordance with capitalism and a globalized sex industry. In contrast with the academic articles, the artistic contributions illustrate how certain individuals became actively engaged in the City's reform agenda in the Red Light District. Serino, the curator of Red A.i.R discusses the current interventions in relation to the situation of artists 30 years ago and the changing role and situation of artists in cities. The artists' contributions include works that come from different timeframes within the course of their residency.

Separately, each segment of the feature contributes to a discourse on the context of prostitution, or Amsterdam's Red Light District. The special feature was produced in response to the reforms that were taking place in the city at the time that I was conducting my research, so it offers relevant academic perspectives on the context of this project. I briefly introduce the texts before I analyze the discourses within the feature and the broader discourse of reform that is presented through the special feature.

There are particular reasons why an analysis of this feature is important for this study. It frames the objects of my research within an academic discourse of the context of my study. Through articles and content that address the city branding, Plan 1012 and Red A.i.R, this feature offers important content for extending the critical discourse analyses in this project. It also introduces a perspective that centers on the context (placing/ socio-spatial aspects) of prostitution in Amsterdam, rather than a discourse of reform that constructs prostitution as part of a strategy of broader ideals for the city's future.

**3<sup>rd</sup> Social practice:** This publication presents an academic discourse on the reform in terms of the changes in the socio-spatial context (landscape) of prostitution. This is addressed in different ways that construct perceptions, for example in relation to the gendered nature of sex work, the relationship between local and international identities in the city's spaces and ideas of morality, economics and politics that organize social life and social space. The different sections of this text influence how people understand and experience the social world by framing this world through the academic discourse. For example, people are described by terms such as “locals” and “tourists”; and, the city is referred to in terms of its historical and spatial situation, with the focus on the Red Light District's “landscape”, which is positioned within Amsterdam and in relation to the global world.

---

## 6.2 *Re-making a Landscape of Prostitution: Introduction*

---

### **Structure of the text (Overview):**

- Introduction
- The red light district as a moral region
- Red light districts in flux
- Amsterdam
  - Amsterdam's progressive policies
  - The red light district as an adult theme park
  - The women of the red light district
  - The gentrification of the red light district
  - Researching the Red Light District

In the introductory section, the authors briefly present prostitution and red light districts in general, which share many features with Amsterdam's world-renowned Red Light District. However, in spite of similarities, they state that Amsterdam's Red Light District “may be the quintessential and perhaps even the paradigmatic red light district” (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 113). They highlight issues of morality and visibility (or invisibility) that are central concerns for all red light districts and explain “in many red light districts around the world, like in Amsterdam, the sex and tourist industries are merging and reinforcing each other's growth (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 117).

The authors explain that Amsterdam's Red Light District is distinct primarily because of how it has been organized through legislative and other regulatory policies and practices:

Because of the unique moral and legal climate in the Netherlands, the Amsterdam Red Light District is not just tied to notions of danger, immorality, drugs and crime, but also to tolerance, excitement and freedom-- making it one of Amsterdam's major tourist attractions. As with the policy on drug use, Amsterdam's image of prostitution seems to have risen as a special case at the intersection of, on the one hand, national and local policies, and on the other hand, international tourism and migration (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 119).

The description above begins with a sentence that compares and contrasts the situation in Amsterdam to the rest of the world. The author's make the general claim that prostitution in Amsterdam is different as a result of the Netherlands' unique moral and legal climate. This has

resulted in Amsterdam's Red Light District being associated with qualities that are often linked to local and national policies, as well as common attributes that are associated with prostitution in general, such as immorality and crime. It is interesting that even though Amsterdam's Red Light District is introduced as unique particularly due to the city's moral and legal climate, it is suggested that prostitution itself is still associated with immorality and crime. On the other hand, the authors introduce a comparison between the city's image in relation to its Red Light District and its image in relation to its drug policy, which reinforces the association between drugs and the Red Light District. This is not the main point that the authors are making, but it emphasizes the link between these areas of policy. In the second part of the quote, the authors convey the fact that prostitution has emerged as an issue that impacts local and national policies and reflects local and national views; moreover, it has emerged as a significant topic for consideration in relation to tourism and migration, from local, national and international perspectives.

The authors also describe the distinct social-spatial landscape of the Amsterdam Red Light District, which is like a sex-themed amusement park that opens out to the rest of the city without boundaries marking where it begins or ends (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, pp. 119-20). It is just part of the urban landscape that different people visit or pass through for different reasons: as an attraction or intended destination for a particular purpose, or just on the way to somewhere else:

The Red Light District is not only visited by heterosexual men seeking sexual pleasure but also by locals who are there for other purposes. The crowd on the street includes locals passing through on walks as well as couples, women, homosexual men, business people, and families with grandparents and children in tow (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 120).

In the explanation above, the authors intend to counter the assumption that the Red Light District is a place that caters to men who are interested in the services of prostitutes. Importantly, this clause also introduces the dominant heteronormative perspective that constructs the Red Light District as a space where men go to look at women and/or buy sexual services from women (*see* Aalbers, 2005, p. 54). They open up the space of prostitution to other people who also populate the Red Light District. These are the same groups who we saw earlier as the targets of the reforms, specifically referring to business people and residents in addition to other general visitors.

In contrast to the heterosexual men who are there to fulfill their desires, the other groups of visitors go to the area for different reasons. This sentence constructs a distinction between heterosexual men and other visitors, which implies that heterosexual men go to the Red Light District for specific reasons, and everyone else goes for other reasons. This heteronormative assumption does not account for other people who are interested in the Red Light District for its sex industry, most obviously the tourists who are attracted to the famous industry and are the main audiences and customers of the live sex shows and sex shops in the area. Additionally, it neglects the women or other non-heterosexual individuals who are interested in the services of prostitutes.

When the authors discuss the regulation of prostitution, they highlight the fact that “prostitution was directly brought into public discourse by Dutch sex workers” (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 121) in the early 1980s, and this instigated the debate on prostitution that ultimately resulted in legalization. The legislative action responded to prostitutes’ demands for recognition as independent, legitimate workers and for protection from government. The women argued that decriminalization and regulated tolerance were not enough to protect the workers or combat the personal or professional stigmatization linked to prostitutes and the industry (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 121). Following the debates, the law changed in 2000, with the lifting of the brothel ban, which resulted the legalized windows that operate today.

It is interesting that the authors introduce this event with a focus on the role of the sex workers. From one perspective, this empowers the women who actively influenced the organization and nature of sex work in the Netherlands. It clearly suggests that prostitutes impacted prostitution policies by prompting a debate on policies and creating a discourse of sex workers’ rights. This also presents the workers as empowered women- at least to the extent that they were able to introduce prostitution into discourse in the first place- who were actively involved in their emancipation and empowerment as legitimate workers in a legitimate industry.

The authors refer to the City’s concerns about the industry, and trafficking in particular, noting that in the years following legalization, the City of Amsterdam increasingly voiced concerns that the law had led to the exponential growth of the industry.

The question of how many women, where from, the safety of working conditions, built up discourse of illegality and growth around the Red Light District that allowed the authorities to begin making changes in 2007 under plan 1012 (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 122).

They elaborate on the topic of Plan 1012 in the sub-section on the gentrification of the Red Light District:

Recently, and in line with the aforementioned Plan 1012, the City of Amsterdam, and in particular its large social-democratic party, Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA), has started a campaign to significantly reduce the size of the Amsterdam Red Light District. The rhetoric of the PvdA is that the current activities in and structure of the Red Light District foster and increase crime and sex trafficking, thus, changes are necessary to protect workers of the zone as well as Amsterdam citizens (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 123).

The authors equate Plan 1012 with the gentrification of the Red Light District, as is implied by the sub-section heading “the gentrification of the red light district” (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, 123). They refer to the “rhetoric of the PvdA” that constructs the Red Light District as conducive to crime and sex trafficking in order to justify the changes that are taking place as part of Plan 1012. The policy discourse is presented as a strategy for gentrification that operates through a discourse of reform that is based on ensuring the safety of sex workers and residents in the city center. Thus, their view is in line with the critics of Plan 1012, who have framed “the City’s fight with the excesses of

the sex industry” as “a blend of a ‘growth coalition’ and ‘creative city strategies’”. The authors continue to explain that critics of the City’s “deliberate promotion of gentrification” stress:

Cleaning up the Red Light District could complicate the prostitutes’ ‘Right to the City’ and rather than fight the excesses of the sex industry, Plan 1012 is more likely to result in the increase of sex industry excesses outside the relatively safe borders of the Red Light District (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 123).

The authors suggest that few women have changed sectors, while most prefer to stay in window prostitution because they consider it to be the safest form of prostitution. Additionally, the women were most negatively affected by the closure of the windows. At the same time, there was not an apparent decline or change in the overall prostitution industry. Thus, even if the City succeeded in removing windows from the Red Light District, the sex work industry continued to function subversively within the city. Furthermore, as Amsterdam continues to force prostitution under the radar, I agree with the authors that it is shifting beyond the safer borders of the more controllable Red Light District (Aalbers and Deinema, 2012, p. 138), which contributes to my argument that Amsterdam’s Red Light District is becoming increasingly comparable to red light districts in other cities. In my article, I begin to consider how this exemplifies a broader shift in Amsterdam’s socio-spatial approach towards- or the governmentality of- policies and reforms in the city, which I return to in my conclusions.

In the final part of this section, the authors introduce Plan 1012’s initiative of placing artists and designers in former red light windows and the role of artists as “marginal gentrifiers”:

Typically groups with little economic capital, but a great deal of cultural capital, such as artists and students, that are seen as ‘preparing’ the neighborhood for gentrification, even though such groups may themselves be displaced in a later stage of gentrification (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 124).

Here, the authors offer a productive description of the artists who participated in the Red A.i.R program that I introduced in the previous chapter. “Marginal gentrifier” is a concept that refers to groups that are part of the administrative/policy discourse as well as the discourse of intervention. From the policy perspective, certain groups of people function in particular ways, as we saw in the exchanges between prostitutes and artists in the Redlight Amsterdam initiative. The discourse from this intervention revealed how artists reflected on their situations as “marginal gentrifiers” and how this impacted their roles and functions within the context of policy and reform.

In the final section, the authors defend the arguments:

That the prostitutes’ Right to the City should be protected and that their displacement from public space may be more harmful to their social conditions and may do nothing to prevent the exploitation of women (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p. 125).

Both of these arguments implicitly strengthen their perspectives on the situation in Amsterdam. They are critical of Amsterdam’s current approach towards the legal industry, which will potentially deny legal workers their rights to the city. A main point of the City’s legalization policy

was its distinction between forced and voluntary work, and this was the basis for introducing laws that protected legal workers and ensuring a more regulated industry that was less conducive to organized crime and sex trafficking. In the current context, the authors criticize an agenda that undermines the distinction between forced and voluntary work with policies and strategies that are displacing legal workers with the same reasons and rationalities that are used to justify the closure of brothels that are suspected to have links to criminal organizations. Furthermore, as I explained in my chapter on administrative/policy discourses, this occurs through policies that emphasize the problems linked to criminogenic activities, which means that the workers themselves are not explicitly implicated in these discourses and policies of reform, but instead it is their association with activities that are linked to criminality.

---

### 6.3 *Re-making a Landscape of Prostitution: Placing prostitution*

---

#### **Structure of the Text (Overview):**

- Introduction
- Prostitution in the 19<sup>th</sup> century
- The ban on brothels
- Legalizing window prostitution
- Plan 1012 and pacification by wine bar
- Prostitution after Plan 1012
- Conclusions

The second part of the special feature is the article “Placing Prostitution: The spatial-sexual order of Amsterdam and its growth coalition” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012). This article was co-written by one of the editors and another researcher. Therefore, it is not surprising that it advances particular points that were introduced in the first section and conveys similar views. The article looks at the changing socio-spatial dynamics of prostitution in the Red Light District in relation to transitional periods in the regulatory context of prostitution. The article focuses on three major times of change: 1911 and the morality laws, when brothels were criminalized; 2000 and the lifting of the brothel ban, when prostitution was legalized; and the recent intervention in the Red Light District that is the outcome of Plan 1012. These examples illustrate different ways that the place, size, shape and visibility of prostitution in the city are informed by discourses and strategies of more or less intervention and regulation. At the same time, the authors note, “tourists and locals alike tend to see this red-light district as the ‘authentic’ and even ‘natural’ place for prostitution in Amsterdam” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 130), in spite of how it has changed over time and will change in the future.

In the article’s introduction, the authors point out that Amsterdam’s Red Light District is “probably the most famous red-light district in the world” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 129). They begin their discussion with the recent context of the Red Light District, describing the Amsterdam City Council’s argument for its strategic reduction of brothel windows as part of Plan 1012. They describe the City’s dual agenda for reducing crime and enhancing the city center: Certain businesses

that are deemed conducive to criminal activity will be replaced by others that are aligned with the intention of attracting particular residents and visitors to the city. This agenda is represented through the administrative discourse that links prostitution with crime and degeneration in the city center. While the City has tended to emphasize its intention to make the Red Light District safer for prostitutes and residents, the authors suggest that: “Such measures end up displacing and transforming prostitution-related problems rather than resolving them” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 130). First, they propose that previous formal interventions- whether they result in prohibition, as in 1911, or legalization, occurring in 2000- result from changing perceptions of prostitution, which in turn contextualize prostitution in the city; they formalize prostitution and its place in the city through controlling how it functions in the city. At the same time as both interventions intended to gain control over more regulated and concentrated places of prostitution, “the conspicuous but fairly easily governable concentration of sex workers decreased, and sex work practices became more elusive” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 130). The authors purport that similar outcomes are likely to result from Plan 1012.

The article advances this argument with the authors’ view that the City’s (primary) aim for Plan 1012 is not combatting potential crime in the Red Light District. Instead, the City:

Is pursuing a policy that stimulates the gentrification of the red-light district and that the concept of ‘growth coalition’ can help us to explain why and how the City is promoting the gentrification of De Wallen (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 130).

Growth coalition is a concept that frames cities “as places designed to maximize the interests of a small, powerful elite” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 130), and “a successful growth coalition is one that is able to provide the right conditions for continued investment and profit by commodifying urban space” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 131). The authors suggest that there is a local growth coalition “driving the restructuring of Amsterdam’s red-light district” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, pp. 131-32). The authors explain that following the 1911 ban on brothels, “prostitution went underground, was no longer marked-off and segregated at all, and once again blended into ‘ordinary society’” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 133). They describe a shift that occurred in the visibility and socio-spatial landscape of prostitution, which is comparable to their projection of what will occur as a result of the recent reduction of window brothels.

The shift in the visibility of prostitution did not mean that prostitution did not exist. In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, prostitution was increasingly approached from perspectives that acknowledged its inevitability. The primary concern was with the visibility of prostitution and how it impacted the public from a moral standpoint. This reflected the ideals of the *public* morality laws, which were primarily concerned with removing prostitution from the public sphere. Thus, instead of prioritizing the abolition of prostitution, such views favored its regulation. In many cases, the prostitute was considered “vulnerable and in need of protection from the state” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 133), while society was implicitly deemed in need of protection from the immorality of prostitution. Here,

we can see how this discourse of morality is similar to the discourse of reform that justifies changes by representing sex workers as vulnerable and presents changes that can offer the women assistance and benefits for society in terms of crime reduction and neighborhood development.

When they address the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they turn their attention to socio-economic factors that impacted the regulation and organization of prostitution, which again began to concentrate around the city center. The authors explain that even though prostitution was still illegal, authorities turned a blind eye to its existence because it did not inhibit the country's economic recovery and demographic growth. This led to the expansion of the Red Light District and its associations with tolerance and excitement, which are traits that have been increasingly attributed to Amsterdam in general (Nijman, 1999; Pruijt, 2012, p. 1123). In the global perspective, Amsterdam was a place where anything was possible, and the Red Light District became a renowned tourist attraction and a symbol of the city's tolerant and permissive environment (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 134). Here, they frame prostitution in a socio-economic and administrative context and address how the growing industry led to the lifting of the brothel ban and legalization in 2000.

Whereas the new legislation was intended for better regulation of the growing industry, the authors explain that it resulted in less transparency and lot of business going underground. The authors refer to a report from two councilors of the PvdA that presents research on the presence and organization of prostitution after legalization<sup>29</sup>. The councilors- one of whom is a former prostitute- argued that legalization made it harder to control prostitution because it forced a lot of prostitution underground and led to a rise in undocumented and underage prostitutes. With the legalization of brothels, illegal workers- who were often the most vulnerable because they could not seek legal protection- were forced out of this sector of the industry precisely because it was the most visible and easily regulated, and thus also often the safest (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, pp. 135-6).

In the remainder of their article, the authors turn to discuss the recent interventions in the Red Light District, beginning at the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, when the City of Amsterdam began buying properties from brothel owners to displace their businesses from the city center. They introduce statistics to show how quickly the City enacted a reduction in the number of prostitutes' windows, which they estimate was up to 30% by 2011 (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 136).

The authors describe 2007, when Plan 1012 began, as an important year "in the changing City policies towards De Wallen" (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 136). This was the year that witnessed the largest reduction of windows (estimated at 10% at the time). This was largely due to a transaction between the City and a notorious "sex entrepreneur" who sold 20 buildings to NV Stadsgoed, resulting in the loss of about a third of the prostitution windows in De Wallen (approximately 50 windows) (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 136).

While the authors state that the ultimate objectives of the plan are under constant revision:

---

<sup>29</sup> For more information, *see* Asante & Schaapman, 2005.



What is clear from several policy documents, however, is that on paper the City pays relatively little attention to the question of how to fight human trafficking and abuse of prostitutes. Most pages deal with strategies to buy out building owners and with the question of what to replace them with.

They point out that the 14-page document that outlines the “implementation decision”:

Lacks a *single* line on human trafficking or the working conditions of prostitutes. There is much talk about ‘restoring the balance’ and ‘creating a high quality entrance zone’ with ‘shops, galleries, ateliers, and high-end restaurants, hotels and apartments’ in cooperation with ‘commercial agents’ (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 137).

They state that one of the arguments for the City’s intention to reduce the number of brothels is its broader plan to gain control over establishments that are associated with “crimonogenic”<sup>30</sup> activities and organizations through enforcing the Bibob Act<sup>31</sup> when criminal activities are suspected (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 137). The authors acknowledge that “Alderman Asscher has continually stressed that prostitutes in the red-light district tend to be in a precarious and dangerous position”, but they argue that Plan 1012 will not be a solution to this problem. They continue to emphasize how history suggests the opposite. They also offer examples from other cities and perspectives from sex workers and researchers that corroborate their view that the reduction of windows will lead to the increased displacement and invisibility of prostitution and more problems for the industry. Additionally, they state that the *Rekenkamer Amsterdam*’s 2011 report concluded that Plan 1012 had not succeeded in reducing crimonogenic activity in the area, and in fact, the number of businesses considered criminogenic has increased (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 138).

The authors argue, “Plan 1012 embodies a shift in the local imaginary of prostitution” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 138). This shift refers to the drastic change from the discourse on prostitution that led to legalization in 2000, which emphasized the rights and safety of the workers and the security of the industry. Recent discourses associate prostitution with criminality, immoral activities and degeneration in the city center. The new approach turns away from previous ideals of (moral) tolerance and the rights and safety of workers and their industry. The discourses of reform introduce the City’s plans to clean up the city center and the city’s image, expressing a moral authority and imperative of the administrative agenda. The changes might relate to reformed senses of morality, but they can also be considered through the economic arguments for Plan 1012. Since the 1980s, the city center has become increasingly valuable in the context of globalization. Amsterdam has joined other cities in a global competition for the status of a “world city” or “global

---

<sup>30</sup> Criminogenic refers to businesses that are considered conducive to organized crime even if they are not functioning illegally in their day to day business activities. For example, it targets businesses and business owners that are suspected of dealing with laundered money or black market goods. This includes coffeeshops that sell soft drugs and many souvenir and fast food places (with the exception of global franchises).

<sup>31</sup> This law allows the City to request proof of legal business operations from suspect companies and to close companies that cannot prove that they are not involved in criminal activities or funded by criminal money. Thus, it places the burden of proof on the accused rather than the accuser.

city” and has become increasingly dependent on new forms of capital associated with a knowledge economy and its “creative class”<sup>32</sup>. These ideals for the city center have introduced a new imaginary for the city, which conceptualizes the qualities of the city’s spaces, such as its canals and unique historical architecture and landscape, as conducive to creativity and a flourishing knowledge economy (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 138). In order to illustrate their argument that Plan 1012 is largely centered on the image of the city, the authors present the example of the introduction of the “Junkie Free Zone”, which was another part of the plan. They write:

The term itself is interesting: apparently, the problem is not drugs (which might be expected from a social management point of view) but junkies. Traders from the nearby stock exchanges were known to include some of the best customers for drug dealers- but of course, this group is not problematized. One can only fear that a junkie free 1012 implies that the junkies will go somewhere else (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 139).

They present a similar argument for window prostitution. Again, the city’s main concern is the visibility of a particular problem. The problem that is addressed is constructed as negative within the public life and space of the city, and the solution is to remove it from the area. The strategy does not deal with the underlying problems, in this case drugs or the existence of junkies, but it focuses on the problem- or visibility- of junkies in the area that is being improved.

The city’s explicit focus on the image of the city center coincides with the authors’ comparison of the context of reform to a growth machine, with the overall objective being “to attract more investments from abroad and to create the right breeding ground that will stimulate the creative urban economy” (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 139). However, one major challenge is that the Red Light District is already economically lucrative, and prostitution is an important part of the allure of the city center, in terms of its unique atmosphere. Thus, on the one hand, some parts of the Red Light District remain and are being used to attract and stimulate the creative industries and the knowledge economy, while others are being targeted by reform. In other words, it has become instrumental in the city’s agenda:

What Plan 1012 is fighting is the negative image of prostitution because in the imaginary prostitution is something that takes places in the very visible red-light district De Wallen. Like the brothels of the old days, De Wallen is a public symbol and therefore also a ‘lightning conductor’ for an extensive and widely diverging industry. Prostitution policies have surprisingly little effect on the existence of prostitution, but do play a large part in shaping the visibility of prostitution and the degree to which one sees prostitution in certain locations. The degree of visibility, in turn, shapes the image of prostitution, which then influences policies on prostitution- the circle is closed (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, pp. 140-1).

The authors conclude their article by noting the shift in Amsterdam away from ideals of a just city, which thrived in the 1970s and 80s. Since the 1990s, the city has displayed increasingly

---

<sup>32</sup> The authors are referring to Richard Florida’s (2002) concept, which I introduced in Chapter 1.2.

neoliberal tendencies in its approaches towards spatial development, denying the rights of many vulnerable groups to access to the city. Similarly, Plan 1012 reveals the City's prioritization of the benefits of gentrification over the potentially detrimental outcomes of displacing prostitutes from their workspaces (Aalbers & Deinema, 2012, p. 142). Throughout their article, the authors emphasize how discourses and strategies of regulation have been used to achieve particular goals that are beneficial for certain groups. Thus, they draw conclusions about the way that Plan 1012 is beneficial for the target groups of the reforms, while it is detrimental for the sex workers who are displaced from the landscape of prostitution. Their perspective provides an apt starting point for the subsequent article on governmentality in the Red Light District because it describes how certain techniques have been used to organize the people and practices in this area.

---

6.4     *Re-making a Landscape of Prostitution: Governmentality in Amsterdam's Red Light District*

---

**Structure of the Text (Overview):**

- Introduction
- The subjects of Foucauldian governmentality
- Governmentality in Amsterdam's Red Light District
- Spatial governmentality, city marketing, the 'creative city' and the 'cultural industries'
- Conclusion

The third section of the special feature is "Governmentality in Amsterdam's Red Light District" (Zuckerwise, 2012), which is my contribution. This article developed from a paper that I presented at the Imagining Amsterdam conference, along with the other contributing authors. As I explained in the preface to this thesis, my interest in the Red Light District goes back to my earlier studies, when I began researching prostitution in Amsterdam from an anthropological perspective. When I continued to research the Red Light District for my Research MA in Cultural Analysis, I found that it was productive to apply Foucault's concept of governmentality to my analyses to understand how the socio-spatial life of places of prostitution had changed throughout the history of prostitution. My prior research in Amsterdam was the basis for my proposition that "an analysis of governmentality is productive for explaining an apparent trend towards neoliberal policies and ideas that are 'shaping both political programmes and individual subjectivities' (Larner, 2000, p. 9) " (Zuckerwise, 2012, p. 148). In the paper, I used Foucault's concept of governmentality to analyze "processes that simultaneously work on the population and the individual through promoting responsible and empowered self-governance" and to "consider how policies and practices construct

or conduct<sup>33</sup> subjects who are accountable to their positions and responsible for their well-being and their social lives” (Zuckerwise, 2012, pp. 148-9) in Amsterdam’s Red Light District. Thus, this article carried my previous study of governmentality in the Red Light District into the present context and focused on the current policies and interventions that would become central to my thesis.

Specifically, it examined how specific examples, including city marketing and branding and the Redlight Amsterdam program, related to a shift in the governmentality of prostitution.

I first look at how the Red Light District is experienced and represented in particular ways and to consider this in relation to the changing landscape of prostitution in the city. I consider how the city’s Red Light District has evolved into renowned tourist attraction, pointing out that “the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Convention has designated the Red Light District as a ‘key quarter’”<sup>34</sup> (Zuckerwise, 2012). Here, I discuss the image of the Red Light District in a global context:

Importantly, the expanding mass tourism industry has played a large role in maintaining the Red Light District as a component of the city’s cultural heritage and identity...representations of the city lure potential visitors to Amsterdam with the symbolic capital derived through its Red Light District, and tourists experience these aspects of Amsterdam as authentic components of the history, culture and life of the city (Zuckerwise, 2012, p. 149).

In spite of the reforms that have reduced the size of the Red Light District, a quote from the City’s information portal illustrates how representations continues to construct images of a liberal- even permissive- sex industry. This information exemplifies how, “an emphasis remains on the presence of the remaining windows and other diverse erotic offerings”, while at the same time, “the policies and socio-spatial reforms reflect the changing discourses on sex work and the nature and structure of the sex industry” (Zuckerwise, 2012, p. 150).

Sanchez’s (2004) concept of “spatial governmentality” is introduced as a way to analyze how policies and perspectives “ ‘manage populations in place by joining technologies of population management and sociospatial control with discourses of community, risk and security’ (Sanchez, 2004, p. 871, as cited in Zuckerwise, 2012, p. 150). This is first addressed in relation to the ways that the “culture” and “creative” economies and industries are directing processes of reform. Florida’s creative city thesis is introduced into the analysis of governmentality based on his claim that a successful creative city depends on the creative class, which is the source of innovation and creative output in cities and will attract businesses and investors. Thus, cities should frame policies around attracting creative individuals by investing in the quality of cities’ socio-cultural life and spaces. This

---

<sup>37</sup> Foucault defines conduct as ‘The activity of conducting’ and ‘equally the way in which one conducts oneself, which is to say, the way ‘one lets oneself be conducted...as an effect of a form of conduct’ (Foucault, 2009, as cited Zuckerwise, 2012, p. 148)

<sup>34</sup> See Hubbard & Whowell, 2008, p. 1745.

results in policies that “intend to influence or cultivate a culture of a cultured<sup>35</sup> and creative class” (Zuckerwise, 2012, p. 151).

The City’s “I amsterdam” marketing and branding campaign and Plan 1012 are presented as examples of the governmentality of the creative city approach:

The I Amsterdam brand became a strategy for stimulating the potential of Amsterdam’s realization as a creative city. The choice of the I Amsterdam brand also called upon the individual targets of the brand to identify with the statement and subjectify themselves through the concept statement, dialectically acknowledging their claim to the city and their accountability to its image and identity through this claim (Zuckerwise, 2012, p. 152).

In both cases, the focus is on how the policies targeted certain people in particular ways that aligned with the reform agenda.

Examples from the Red Light District support the argument that the reforms are strategically capitalizing on the cultural significance of the area in the process of displacing prostitution. The Redlight Amsterdam studios, where designers and artists have been given the opportunity to work in former brothels, are considered. I point out various ways that such initiatives influence and reflect culture. On the I amsterdam web portal, Redlight Fashion is promoted on the webpage for Fashionable Amsterdam. The questions this raises include: *Does this advertise clothing or emphasize the remaining prostitutes, who stand around these windows (and the ones who have been displaced from the fashion studios)?*

In the final part of the article, I look closer at how prostitutes are considered in relation to the reforms. First, I argue that the recent reforms discount the rights of (legitimate) sex workers who have been displaced from the brothels that have been appropriated by the City. Even when this was justified as an action that was combatting criminal networks, the prostitutes were directly affected by the interventions, but the brothel owners were the ones who were compensated for their losses. I distinguish the current intervention from the time when the brothel ban was lifted, in 2000. The earlier reform centered on the rights and safety of prostitutes and the security of the industry. The law itself distinguished voluntary from coerced prostitution with the intention of protecting the individual rights of sex workers who would be considered legitimate workers. At the same time, the intention of legalization was to enable authorities to focus their attention on aggressively combatting criminality associated with the industry. At the time, voluntary sex work was addressed as an issue of workers’ rights, and criminality was associated with forced prostitution.

From a governmentality perspective, legalization reflected neoliberal strategies of governing insofar as it emphasized workers’ self-determination and empowerment and freed prostitutes from prior over-general discourses of morality and exploitation. The recent reforms challenge the agency of sex workers through the governmentality of reforms that are displacing particular people from the

---

<sup>35</sup> See Miles, 2005, p. 892.

visible landscape of prostitution in the Red Light District. On the other hand, the emergence of city marketing and branding and the prioritization of the creative and cultural industries are indicative of a different kind of neoliberal strategies that are contributing to the changes in the landscape of prostitution. While these are shifting away from the neoliberal approaches towards prostitution that emphasize the empowerment and liberation of sex workers, they are neoliberal in the ways that they target the subjects of the emerging governmentality in the Red Light District. City marketing and branding and initiatives like Redlight Amsterdam call upon particular individuals and groups to subjectify themselves through the city's brand and its cultural spaces and steer them to act or conduct themselves in particular ways that align with the policy and reform agenda (*see* Crain, 2012, p. 11). Thus, neoliberal governmentality does not mean that there is less governing and more freedom, but instead, policies and interventions govern so that individuals are responsible for and accountable to their roles as agents of the city.

---

6.5     *Re-making a Landscape of Prostitution: From red light to black light*

---

**Structure of the Text (Overview):**

- Introduction
- 1960s: Amsterdam, De Wallen and Parijse Leen
- Spreek je Nederlands? English? Ok
- Cleaning up and organizing
- Conforming to global standards
- Currencies and individuals in the marketplace
- Conclusion: the mainstream margin

The fourth article, written by the second editor, is “From red light to black light: Spatial transformation and global effects in Amsterdam’s Red Light District” (Sabat, 2012). The article presents a comparative analysis between Amsterdam’s Red Light District in the Post-World War II period and the Red Light District at the time the article was written, in 2011. The article focuses on the globalization of sex consumerism and its impact on spaces and bodies in Amsterdam’s Red Light District. Throughout the article, the author illuminates key points about the manifestation of the Red Light District in local and global perspectives, revealing how it has been constructed through discursive and experiential practices at different times.

The article introduces Amsterdam’s Red Light District as “an important and defining part of Amsterdam” (Sabat, 2012, p. 158) that has changed in relation to globalization and the expanding sex industry. Thus, today’s Red Light District, with its global outlook and international appeal, is distinct from accounts of the “cozy local neighborhood” that characterized the post-World War II Red Light District. The article begins with a section on the Red Light District from 1960, when the area “began to take its modern shape” (Sabat, 2012, p. 159). There are complex legislative and social histories,

mired in debates and controversies that are foundational to the Netherlands' policies, however from an international perspective, these are secondary. It is simply renowned that:

The Red Light District represents the progressive tolerance promised by the Netherlands. Dutch policies on prostitution, drugs, social welfare, euthanasia and gay rights are globally placed in one category... The Red Light District has become a symbol of Dutch progressive tolerance, a place with no legislative or social boundaries, a 'place where anything goes' (Sabat, 2012, p. 159).

In the 1960s, authorities shifted from their previous "blind eye" approach towards prostitution to an informal style of tolerance. This was when the city began to acquire a reputation for its uniquely liberal approach towards prostitution, and visitors began to travel to Amsterdam to observe the women working in the industry that was tolerated in Amsterdam. Police joined forces with residents as well as prostitutes and pimps to form safety networks and watch over the streets in the neighborhood (Sabat, 2012, p. 159). In the local imagination, the Red Light District of that time is often remembered as one of the friendliest and safest parts of the city. However, Brants (1998), for example, warns that this view romanticizes the situation and detracts from the reality of the history that included poverty and coercion. In any case, the author describes the Red Light District like any other neighborhood of the time in many respects, with a range of businesses and residents. Furthermore, while it catered to more and more visitors, it was still primarily Dutch citizens who worked and lived in the area at the time (Sabat, 2012, p. 159).

Photographs illustrate the atmosphere of the neighborhood that is described in this period. The image of the prostitute in 1966 is drastically different from what visitors encounter in the red light windows today. It shows a woman sitting in a room that resembles what we would expect from a typical sitting room. The author explains that there would be subtle indications of the women's profession, "red or orange lampshades as they would have been: a subtle red hue fills the room and acts as a sexual invitation to the passersby" (Sabat, 2012, p. 159). This example shows how brothel windows from this time period challenge contemporary expectations of red light district windows. While this was the time when women began to advertise themselves in windows, they did so in very different ways to the women who stand in the windows of today's Red Light District. The women of the earlier period could be seen "occupying themselves with 'regular' activities such as knitting and reading" (Sabat, 2012, p. 160). Researchers have also looked at how the Red Light District fit into the city and politics of prostitution. The 1960s Red Light District was seen as non-threatening, and some scholars have associated it with the Dutch word *gezellig*, which "roughly means cozy and nice":

It emphasizes the home, hearth, simplicity and family oriented values and represented the ideal domestic Dutch bourgeois space (Sabat, 2012, p. 161).

This representation of the Red Light District, as part of the neighborhood, non-threatening and as spatially perceived as residential and domestic, contrasts the subsequent image of the contemporary Red Light District, in the following section.

The next section is titled “*Spreek je Nederlands? English? Ok*” (Sabat, 2012, p. 161). This sub-heading is presumably indicative of the author’s intention to direct readers’ focus on shifting local-global dynamics. This initial assumption is confirmed by the first sentence, which speaks of the possibility to “take a tour of the district”. The section continues to explain how “the structure of the area today reinforces and draws in tourist uses more than local ones” (Sabat, 2012, p. 161). For example, even though Dutch is still used in many parts of the district, English is the dominant language to make the area accessible to more tourists. There are also various sex and non-sex related businesses that cater to visitors, many of which allow people to experience Amsterdam’s permissive atmosphere, for example through sex shows and sex shops and coffee shops (for smoking marijuana). These points emphasize the point that today’s Red Light District is no longer directed towards the local population and is not embedded within the neighborhood as it was in the past.

The author explains, “the area is still recognized as part of Amsterdam’s cultural heritage and collective memory”, however, “the amusements of the Red Light District are increasingly thought of as a foreign tourist attraction and no longer seen as a local phenomenon” (Sabat, 2012, p. 162). The changes in the local-global dynamic of the district since the post-World War II period extend beyond the expanding mass tourism industry. They also relate to the changing spatial dynamics of the prostitution industry and global migration. In the 1960s, some of the women lived in their places of work, while today, the windows are rented spaces for work. While the owners of the buildings in the district remain predominantly Dutch, a 2009 study (*See* Brussa, 2009, p. 16) by the Tampep International Foundation estimated that between 70-75% of the women working in the Red Light District are foreign migrants (Sabat, 2012, p. 162). Furthermore, the author suggests that foreign pimps are increasingly taking control over brothels, replacing older Dutch Madams in their roles in the industry. Thus, the global-local dynamic is happening in two directions: the Red Light District is globalizing its local socio-spatial structure and localizing its global imaginary. In other words, the district is becoming a global industry, and it is targeting a global audience that associates the industry with the city’s local image and identity.

Before the author introduces pictures that illustrate the contemporary Red Light District, readers are informed about the numerous aspects of the industry that are largely hidden from consumers’ views: for example, how long the women work during their shifts, how much they pay for their spaces and how prices for spaces and services are determined or change according to different factors and circumstances. In short, there are multiple structural factors that remain hidden from the visible landscape of prostitution, which hardly impact the experiences of international consumers insofar as they seek and consume what they desire; on the other hand, these considerations heavily influence the working conditions and lives of sex workers, who tend to be more vulnerable to the forms of structural violence that are inherent to the industry, such as social exclusion, violence, discrimination, coercion to practice unsafe sex and lack of awareness of or access to health and other social services (Sabat, 2012, pp. 162-3). The author’s emphasis on the hidden



aspects of the industry coincides with arguments presented in the previous articles concerning the transparency of the industry and the negative implications of the current reforms.

Images of red light windows are described to support the author's argument that structural inequalities are concealed by the "theme park structure" of the contemporary Red Light District. The idea of the theme park is used to convey the idea that the Red Light District offers a whole experience<sup>36</sup> through an environment "made up of pragmatic and efficient interiors", which are "designed for safety and fast cleanup between workers; hence, the easy wipe surfaces" (Sabat, 2012, p. 163). The author also compares the spaces to recognizable institutional environments, suggesting they imitate "typical hospital and dental hygiene spaces, but also school locker rooms", to emphasize the standardization of the spaces of sex work: "This is a space of utility. Only the neon light signifies this a space of the sex industry" (Sabat, 2012, p. 163). The author argues that the prostitute has also become standardized in the Red Light District, where she wears a specific outfit, a bikini, that is like a uniform that enables viewers to quickly and efficiently compare prostitutes' bodies. The red light windows highlight the women with black lights, creating glowing visual effects in the windows that overpower the individuality of the women working behind the windows:

Framed by the window, individual features are second to the glow aesthetic...All types of women and varying services are present for all tastes and desires. Yet even though the zone caters to such niche tastes and displays a range of international visitors and workers, everything in the district begins to look the same (Sabat, 2012, p. 163).

Following this description and concluding argument about the standardization of the Red Light District, the next section turns to a discussion on "Cleaning up and organizing" the red light district (Sabat, 2012, p. 163). This begins with an introduction to the lifting of the brothel ban in 2000. The author focuses on the ways that the legislation intended to regulate a more transparent industry through spatial and hygiene requirements, for example, mandating a bathroom, sink and emergency buzzer in each room, and requiring workers to wash their customers' genitals before engaging in sex:

The law led the authorities to oversee and manage the functions of these spaces in an acutely physical and structural sense. The law initiated a form of control via a structural framing and disciplining of the bodies, resulting in a panoptical environment (Sabat, 2012, p. 165).

The author continues:

The law of 2000 took standardization to a new level... Together the aesthetic of safety and hygiene supported an environment of efficiency, speed and visibility with bare and smooth spaces conducive to fast transactions...In other words, the authorities envisioned combating taboo and coercion by making the individual a free entrepreneur who competes in the marketplace (Sabat, 2012, p. 166).

---

<sup>36</sup> Interestingly, in the introductory section, the author seemed to counter the view of the district as a theme park insofar as it blended in with the public life and space of the city and was not visibly or physically divided or delineated from the rest of the city.

The point that comes forth is that authorities are simultaneously standardizing the industry and as a result, the spaces and practices of prostitutes, while they are positioning prostitutes as free agents over their sex work in the global marketplace. This leads to a discussion of the globalization of the Red Light District and how the sex worker is positioned in a global marketplace. The author explains that the Red Light District is increasingly present on the web, connecting images of prostitution and sex workers to “a global tourist gaze that is enabled by capitalist market structures embedded in the leisure industries” (Sabat, 2012, p. 167). Furthermore, in spite of the changing relations of power and desires that operate in the sex industry, the constant factor is the gendered, asymmetrical relationship between female prostitutes and male clients/viewers, which does not change regardless of whether women are considered to be independent or empowered workers. This leads to the argument that the structure of the industry empowers some and subjugates others. This is an important point to consider as a segue to the next set contributions, which come from some of the artists who participated in the Red A.i.R program. In some ways, their roles in the reform agenda confirm Sabat’s assertions that the landscape of prostitution is rife with institutionalized power relations. The artists exemplify a situation where sex workers are marginalized or displaced and thus powerless in the context of their socio-spatial situations. On the other hand, the introduction of artists into the former brothels and the landscape of prostitution raises questions about the way that gender enters into the power dynamic that subjectifies and objectifies people in particular roles in the city. As I return to consider another discourse from the Red A.i.R artists, it is worth questioning if the artists in the brothels were positioned in similar roles as the sex workers, who were formerly on display as cultural subjects and objects within the Red Light District windows.

---

6.6      *Re-making the Landscape of Prostitution: A collection of documents of Redlight Art Amsterdam*

---

The fifth section of the special issue was provided by Angela Serino, the curator of the Red A.i.R program. It exemplifies the uniquely holistic approach of *City’s* presentation of information about contemporary issues that reflect and contribute to understandings of cities because it includes writing and works from a curator and artists who participated in the reforms in the Red Light District. These individuals are seen to contribute valuable insight to the academic perspective and discourse because, as stated in the journal’s “aims and scope”, they “play key roles in sustaining and constructing cities and urban futures” (Informa UK Limited, 2015). The curator’s contribution is based on the paper that she presented on the Red Light District panel at the Imagining Amsterdam conference alongside the other contributors to the feature. This also contextualized her perspective within an academic discourse on prostitution in the Red Light District insofar as she spoke at an international conference at the University of Amsterdam, where the majority of the contributors were academics, as were most of the audience members.

“A collection of documents from Redlight Art Amsterdam: Introduction to the artists’ contributions” is a brief text that serves as an introduction to the artists’ works that are included in this feature. Serino briefly introduces the City’s initiative and her role as the curator of the program and discusses her selection of works for inclusion in the feature. She begins by telling readers that in 2008, two Dutch art organizations invited her to curate the Redlight Art Amsterdam program. She also explains that the program was an initiative of the City and a housing corporation. First, she presents the municipality’s official description of these projects:

As an occasion of visibility for a group of professionals from the creative sector: ‘top talents’ from the creative industry who were to use the former window brothels to display their products (Serino, 2012, p. 172).

The fact that she was invited to take part in the program, along with the municipality’s description of the initiative, implies that Serino was chosen because she was identified as a top talent from the creative industry who would participate in the reforms in the Red Light District. Serino, however, states that she felt “uncomfortable with the idea of using the shop windows as displays of objects of art”:

Emphasizing the image of the artists as producers of commodities on display would have, in fact, reduced art’s function to its economic aspects, emptying its traditional value as a tool of critical thinking (Serino, 2012, p. 172).

The residency program was the curator’s attempt to “shift the initial rhetoric of the project, and suggest other possible values embodied by the artists and their physical presence in the spaces” (Serino, 2012, p. 172). As we saw in the previous chapter where I analyzed Laurence Aëgerter’s and Alexis Blake’s works, Serino selected individuals who incorporated critical reflection into their artistic processes. She highlights the important aim of the artists:

To develop new works in relation to the physical space of the studios, from their individual histories to the architecture as well as to the particularity of their position in the middle of the process of transformation of this part of the city and the public image of Amsterdam (Serino, 2012, p. 172).

Serino (2012) proceeds to introduce questions that the program raised:

How did this encounter of the artists with those charged places and political situation develop? Was it possible to really challenge the specific initial understanding of art framed by the project? Were we able to find a new common ground for the diverse interests of all the parties involved (the Municipality, the housing corporation, the sex workers, the neighbors and the artists) and their different visions of and expectations towards art (p. 172)?

Serino (2012) does not directly answer these questions, but instead she explains that she has selected three works from participating artists that can best “illustrate the answers to those questions elaborated by the artists during the project” (p. 172). The curator also introduces theoretician Dieter Diederichsen’s perspective that art has lost its critical, oppositional position towards power

structures, and today's artists are now "reasonable community members", which was presented in the public program of Redlight Art Amsterdam. While she does not explicitly accept that this perspective applies to the participants of Red A.i.R, she acknowledges that his view represents the changing conditions of artists in the past decades that are foundational to projects like Redlight Amsterdam (Serino, 2012, p. 173). She reflects on this transition that has occurred over the last 30 years, describing how artistic practices of intervention in cities have shifted from the margins of social and political life- and often the art world- to the center of political life, where it is increasingly institutionalized (Serino, 2012, p. 174).

In the current context, the key question for artists is how to remain critical and autonomous as artists, when art is valued through its social, political and/or economic institutionalization. Serino (2012) suggests this is becoming increasingly relevant:

Now that the art discourse intersects with one of the so-called creative industries, and the cultural (and artistic) experience has been recognized as a primary component of urban regeneration by political and economical institutions (p. 174).

She argues that Redlight Art Amsterdam exemplifies a case where this policy perspective of the artists does not coincide with how the artists perceive themselves and their role in the world. In policy- and theory- the artists correspond with Florida's concept of the creative class, embodying "what is most valued in today's politics and economics: authenticity, originality and relentless creativity" (Serino, 2012, p. 174); yet, it is problematic to view the artists as creative entrepreneurs who are engaged in creative/cultural production that can be measured economically. This perspective cannot sufficiently "express the potentiality of art and its historical power to create or suggest alternatives to the prevailing value-systems" (Serino, 2012, p. 174).

Serino (2012) acknowledges the fact that Redlight Art represents the City's intention to replace prostitutes with artists and a preference for creative workers over sex workers in the Red Light District windows (p. 175). She explains that she consciously chose a self-reflective position for herself and the project, within the boundaries set by the Municipality, intending to engage with the artists, the City and the collaborating housing corporation about "the role of art in the process of urban gentrification" (Serino, 2012, p. 175). However, the curator states that the City and the housing corporation ignored the dialogue. In spite of the fact that the City initially welcomed the artists through the Redlight Art initiative, Serino (2012) states that the artist ultimately became "an unwanted subject, since s/he disrupted and questioned the prevailing rhetoric of an enthusiastic embracement of art as creative industry" (p. 175).

In contrast to the previous articles in this feature, the curator's brief introduction to Redlight Art does not explicitly consider the reforms in relation to prostitution. Instead, it approaches the context of the feature- i.e. the landscape of prostitution- in terms of a particular intervention that has taken place in spaces where prostitution was already displaced. Her perspective and the artists' contributions are insightful and/or significant for analyzing the transformation of the landscape of

prostitution in Amsterdam in terms of the City's prioritization of particular people, practices and industries that are associated with the cultural life and spaces in the Red Light District; on the other hand, the role of artists and art reveals how individuals and works are objectified through policies and discourses of reform. In my conclusions, I return to consider how we can make sense of the changing landscape of prostitution by analyzing how interventions in the Red Light District, through both prostitution policies and Redlight Art Amsterdam, reflect the governmentality of reform.

---

## 6.7 *Re-making the Landscape of Prostitution: Redlight Art*

---

The following three sections introduce works that were selected as examples from the Redlight Art program. The artists were all participants in the Red A.i.R program. The first work is from Achim Lengerer, and the other two selections are from Alexis Blake and Laurence Aëgerter, whose works I introduced in Chapters 5.3 and 5.4. It is important to note that most readers will only know this program through the content of this feature, and this will probably be their first introduction to the works that are presented. Therefore, I consider the selected works in relation to the academic discourse on the Red Light District in this feature. Each work is presented after a brief introduction to the piece and a short bio about the artist. My analyses focus on how the works contribute to the feature's theme "Re-making the landscape of prostitution".

### 6.7.1 **Redlight Art: Achim Lengerer: Hold on, I, too, am drifting...(a speech performance with Kevin Cregan)**

Achim Lengerer's monologue performance, "Hold on, I, too, am drifting...(a speech performance with Kevin Cregan)" (Lengerer, 2012) is briefly introduced on the first page of this section. The artist is introduced beneath the short description of the work, informing readers where he works, where he was educated and about his project "Scriptings", where he turned his studio into a temporary publishing house. Readers are told that the performance took place during the final event of the Red A.i.R program, in Lengerer's studio, which was a former brothel. It was an ongoing performance that took place over five hours, and four visitors could view the performance at a time. We are informed that the text was inspired by a chapter of Camus' "The Fall" that was also set in Amsterdam's Red Light District, so readers learn that the artist was aware of his surroundings and reflected on them in the production of this work. On the following two pages, the text is displayed in the form of a script, printed on top of two images that cover the pages of the journal. In order to read the text, the reader needs to rotate the pages, which are displayed horizontally. Each page has two columns of text, which are broken up by clear pauses, written into the script. All together there are six main blocks of text, which can be seen as separate monologues. On the first page, two monologues are presented on top of an image of a man looking out of a window, and there is another small block of text that describes the setting as a former brothel in the Red Light District

(Lengerer, 2012, p. 178). Through the window, viewers/readers see the building across from the man, which is made of brick and has windows. The final four monologues are presented on the second page of this piece. The text of this page is printed in two columns that are on either side of a man's face. The man in the image is the same man who was gazing out of the window on the previous page, and we can assume he is the speaker of the monologue. Therefore, he is presumably the actor who is performing Lengerer's role. In the image, he gazes straight through the page, into the eyes of the audience/reader. His mouth is open, as if he is mid-word. His facial expression conveys the idea that he is speaking to the audience/reader of the script/text. With the exception of the last piece of text, all six of these monologues begin with the same introductory sentence: "As an artist I don't wanna be caught empty handed, right?" This is followed by different reflections on the artists' subjectivity and situation, echoing the key question raised by Serino in the prior section. In the first monologue, he extrapolates:

If empty handed then only seemingly within a gesture of clever repost. Why say no, while producing a yes? I do produce something, NOW, just by being- just by being in this room I say YES!... What about you (Lengerer, 2012, p. 178)?

In this first monologue, he also directs the audience's attention to the fact that they are in the brothel, refusing to let them forget that by being there, they agree to be in the situation together (Lengerer, 2012, p. 178).

In the second monologue, he follows the introductory statement with the question: "WHAT DID YOU HEAR ABOUT ME?" And, he continues: "Did you hear of me as a true artist, a good artist, a nice artist maybe? Not as a show-off or talker? Hopefully as a potent artist, a copious producer and clever trickster- that'd be nice" and: "What did you hear about my profession, about my confession" (Lengerer, 2012, p. 178)? These quotes reveal how the artist's reflections expressed his own uncertainty within the context of the residency. His questions correspond with questions that policymakers, viewers and artists themselves continually ask as art is entering into discourses and strategies of reform in relation to the cultural and creative industries. As we saw in the previous chapter, in section 5.4, when Blake and the panel members were asked to reflect on the role of the artist and the artistic process, they found it difficult to separate these ideas and express how art was meaningful and significant to them and in the social world, more broadly. He then goes off on a tangent about girls' breasts and playing with their nipples before he excuses himself for drifting. As the title of the piece suggests, drifting thoughts are a trope throughout the performance. However, given the context of his project and the ongoing acknowledgement of the fact that he is working in a former brothel, where he has replaced a prostitute in his work as an artist, his brief preoccupation with the female body and sexuality does not seem random or irrelevant. This is reinforced in the fourth monologue, when the artist emphasizes the setting of the scene to the audience:

You are in a brothel, bordello, whorehouse or knocking shop (but who knocks on whose door...and from which side?). Just like that: taking the place of prostitutes, hookers, jezebels, molls, slags, tarts, whores, sex workers...or “the ladies” (Lengerer, 2012, p. 179).

During the performance, the artist forced the audience to acknowledge their role and position in the former brothel in relation to the history and presence of the space. Similarly, the script forces readers to reflect on the space of the former brothel in the landscape of prostitution, as a result of reforms in the Red Light District. Lengerer’s performance emphasized how the audience became the clients/observers within the former brothel, and he recognizes that he has taken the role of the subject of the space. However, it is not that straightforward, since the audience also becomes subjects of the space and objects of his art and artistic reflection. In the fifth monologue, the artist continues to reflect on his subjectivity, which he describes in terms of distinctions and digressions, claiming that he has accepted his position of duplicity, asking the audience to join him (Lengerer, 2012, p. 179).

The final monologue begins differently than the others. The artist/performer starts with an exclamation about what is taking place outside: “Snowing! I must go out!” He speaks of the world outside before he returns to address his audience: “And you? You are still examining this room, right?” He then repeats the last line of his first monologue:

Here we are and I DO say without losing sight of the effect I am producing...the trick has been played, NOW, just by being here we agree- we are in this soup together” (Lengerer, 2012, p. 79).

However, in conclusion, he adds, “YES...and now... YOU CAN LEAVE, PLEASE!” (Lengerer, 2012, p. 79). These last words, all in capitals, span the full bottom line of this column of text.

While it is apparent that the script represents the artist’s work, and it was part of a performance, it is also clear that it was influenced by his situation. Throughout the text, the artist constantly refers to his role as an artist and what this means to his audience. He asks his audience to join him in his reflections on what it means to work as an artist in his situation, both specifically, in the former brothel, and more broadly, in terms of what they expect from him as an artist. However, through his trope of drifting, the artist also reflects on the context of the project and the importance of situating himself, his work and his audience within the history and space of the former brothel.

### **6.7.2 Redlight Art: Alexis Blake: IN/OUT/EITHER/NEITHER, Reflections of a choice**

The second work from the Redlight Art initiative is Alexis Blake’s IN/OUT/EITHER/NEITHER, Reflections of a choice. It is worth noting that this text comes from the presentation that I analyzed in chapter 5.4, so some of the text will be similar or the same as the quotes from Blake’s presentation. In this analysis, I focus on how her contribution relates to the feature’s topic, the changing landscape of prostitution in the Red Light District. I also consider how

the text relates to the emphasis of the prior two pieces, on the subjectivity and role of the artists in the context of policy and reform in the Red Light District.

Blake's contribution to this feature does not explicitly refer to the Red Light District, and she only refers to prostitutes once in passing, when she is describing the incompatible beliefs of the different agents interacting in the reform context (Blake, 2012, p. 183). Thus, a key question is why this artist's work is included in this feature, if it does not directly discuss the landscape of prostitution. Blake's contribution includes text, in the format of a script, and images that are taken from overhead slides that Blake used during her final Red A.i.R presentation, which I introduced in the previous chapter. Her project itself contributed to the discourse of intervention, as I explained in chapter 5.4, so it can be seen to intervene in the landscape of prostitution and the Red Light District. Furthermore, when the artist describes her project, she focuses on the aspects of choice that related to her reflections on subjectivity within her project. Again, this ties into the prior sections, which focused on the artists' positions and roles in the context of policy and reform.

The text begins with an introduction by the artist, who offers a first person narrative to describe the setting of the first part of the dialogue. She describes the scene of the focus groups for the audience/readers (between July 18<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup>, 2009 "in the Stedelijk Museum's De Bouwkeet while located at the Museumplein") and clarifies the focus group research method. She explains that her participants were "various individuals involved in shaping thought and opinion in the City of Amsterdam", and with the help of a moderator, she "examined how these individuals reflected upon the notion of choice" (Blake, 2012, p. 181). The first page of the script introduces July 18<sup>th</sup>, 2009 and the focus group's participants from this date.

The actual dialogue that is presented is only between the moderator and one of the participants, Rutger, who explains that limitations on freedom are good, and "unlimited choice is just as fictional as unlimited freedom" (Blake, 2012, p. 181). The next page refocuses the audience's/readers' attention away from the context of the focus group. The artist's voice enters the script as the narrator, and the text takes a new structure. The artist is the only speaker, and the artist's voice is aligned on the left-hand side of the page, while her actions are presented in the center of the page. These descriptions offer visual reconstructions of the sections of the presentation that go along with the segments of text in the script.

Her narrative begins with her explanation of her "decision to choose choice" and how she felt limited by her instrumental role as an artist in the city. Here we can see a general link between the artist's view of her position and Rutger's opinion that choice is always limited. After a pause, she explains that she decided to speak with philosopher Michael Franke in order to understand her situation pragmatically and logically, in contrast to the abstract insight she gained through the focus groups. At this point, the text in the journal coincides with the artist's presentation at *A Second Exchange*, as she explains, "By deconstructing the situation through means of logic equations I was able to perceive the situations from a relatively non-subjective position" (Blake, 2012, p. 182).



Blake describes how she preceded during her presentation, explaining how she displayed slides with equations that represented particular possibilities for her situation. Images of the slides are included in the document's text to show readers what her audience saw on the overhead projector during her presentation. First, there is a picture of a slide with a black circle, which Blake described as the inaccessible situation that she would proceed to break down (*see* Appendix D, 6.7.3 1). Second, there is the model of the different agents and their irreconcilable beliefs within the context of the residency (*see* Appendix D, 6.7.3 2). The last two slides introduce logic equations (*see* Appendix D, 6.7.3 3). Blake explains that her knowledge of the incompatible beliefs of the different actors meant that she had to make choices about her preferences and what she considered fair. In her words, "what I am unable to compromise and what I can actually produce- given the circumstances in this *Game of Cooperation*" (Blake, 2012, p. 188). Blake continues to describe her presentation and introduces more logic equations that helped her work through her position in the residency. She tells readers that a bivalence equation enables her to be "IN or OUT", aligning IN with the " 'creative entrepreneur' that illustrates the expectations of the 'creative capital' that the city branding campaign aims to achieve". In contrast, Blake (2012) explains:

If I choose OUT, then I take an authoritative position by determining what is 'wrong' and what is 'right' and who is 'bad' and who is 'good'. I would automatically eliminate the potential for a constructive dialog while labeling myself as 'the outsider' (p. 188).

These options do not offer substantive terms for defining her position within the residency since she has decided to participate, but has not complacently accepted her role as a creative entrepreneur in the city. Thus, Blake introduces a different option that she refers to as an "Indian logic", with "the choices of EITHER and NEITHER". She explains that EITHER describes an indifferent stance towards her position of being IN or OUT. If she chooses NEITHER, she is open to the possibility of finding her autonomy "within the frame of this residency", acknowledging "the incompatible beliefs amongst all the parties involved while at the same time not be[ing] defined or controlled by that incompatibility" (Blake, 2012, p. 188).

Finally, Blake (2012) explains her actions as she again replaces the transparency with a clean slide, on which she draws a shape that she describes as "a hole" (p. 189). It is likely that this hole resembles Blake's representation of "choice" on the first transparency. Blake (2012) refers to the hole in her narrative, engaging her audience with questions:

So, when the 'powers that be' dig a massive hold in your studio space without your consensus, and do not fill it back up, what do you do? Are you IN, OUT, EITHER or NETHER (p. 189)?

At this point, the script returns to the earlier dialogue from the focus group that it began with. Blake tells her audience/readers that the situation she is describing reminds her of Anne's response to Rutger:

Well, I think Rutger has a point that even though you can feel quite free, you are always bound by various limitations... But I don't feel less free...because I feel like I've made the choices and...and I support the choices I make. And it doesn't make me feel less free. So...ah, that's, that's a funny thing to see about yourself.

[...]You accept the boundaries that you have. Maybe you put them up yourself, maybe they come from other things. But if you accept the boundaries then you can feel quite free, even though you might not be (Blake, 2012, p. 189).

This quote and perspective concludes the text and the artist's contribution. It includes text from different parts of her project that were part of her reflective process. Furthermore, together, this script itself offers a cumulative reflection on her artistic experience. While it does not overtly comment on the context of the Red Light District or the changing landscape of prostitution, it introduces information about the artist's reflection on her position and role in the context of the residency, which is a key perspective in this project. Blake introduces the important point that the artists, as well as the prostitutes, among other agents in the city, are constrained by their choices; the ways that policies and reforms limit individuals' choices impact how they experience freedom and autonomy in their own lives.

### **6.7.3 Redlight Art: Laurence Aëgerter: Opening Soon/Opening Now**

The final artist who contributed to the feature is Laurence Aëgerter. Whereas the other artists provided works that were largely text-based, Aëgerter's segment is comprised of four pages of photographs that display the artist's studio at different times during the residency program. This makes her contribution interesting in the context of this feature. While Lengerer's and Blake's works seem more conducive to their inclusion in an academic text, Aëgerter's project was largely based on the ongoing transformation of her studio, which is difficult to capture in her brief contribution. On the other hand, her work directly confronts the idea of socio-spatial reform in the context in which she worked. Thus, it directly addresses the topic of the feature, illustrating specific changes that took place within the landscape of the Red Light District.

Aëgerter's contribution is also distinct because she is the only artist who provided a first person introduction to her works. Even though she offers the least text with her contribution, she provides the readers/viewers with an introduction that also sheds light on her objectives for the works. The artist begins her introduction with her reason for transforming the former brothel into eight different spaces: "To question my position as an artist-in-residence and the politics of gentrification of the City of Amsterdam" (Aëgerter, 2012, p. 190). She lists the different public and semi-public functions that her studio served during the residency, which became temporary installations and performances and led to the production of silkscreened posters and a series of staged photographs that project "potential identities to the former prostitution cabin" (Aëgerter, 2012, p. 190). Her acknowledgement of the former function of the space and her accountability to the history of the space in describing her aims makes her contribution particularly poignant.

The first page of images contains three photographs that show the artist's studio during different events (*see* Appendix D, 6.7.3 4). The images are labeled "Opening Soon/Opening Now: Public Swimming Pool", "Opening Soon/Opening Now: Snack Bar" and "Opening Soon/Opening Now: Public Library". Each image presents the ground floor of the studio. At a glance, it is hardly obvious that the images display the same space since it appears drastically different in each of the pictures. However, upon closer inspection, the viewer can recognize the room is the same in the image of the public swimming pool and the public library by the constant view that appears through the entrance to the ground floor studio. The photograph of the snack bar is taken from the opposite direction, but the wall tiles and the clock reveal that this is the same room that the artist transformed into the swimming pool. The image of the public swimming pool is presented among her selection of staged photographs of the studio on the following pages (*see* Appendix D, 6.7.3 5). In these three images, each displayed on a separate page, the artist projected images from her installations onto a wall of the studio. In order to represent the relationship between the constant space and the changes that occurred over the time of the residency, the artist did not alter the clock or the sink in the studio, and these static features are visible in the photographs. Each photograph is titled KP23 for the location of the studio at Koorsjapoortsteeg 23 and then numbered 1 to 6 to designate the six different potential identities that the artist envisioned for the space. In this feature, she includes KP23 nr. 6 (swimming pool), KP23 nr. 4 (symposium) and KP23 nr. 5 (temple). The artist's contribution does not provide any concluding remarks. Thus, the viewer must interpret these images as representations of the artist's process of critical reflection and inquiry into her position within the context of the residency.

---

## 6.8 *Re-making the Landscape of Prostitution: Afterword*

---

### **Structure of the discourse**

- Introduction
- The red light district's moral landscape
- Regulating the red light landscape
- The red light district as a lived landscape
- Conclusion

Phil Hubbard (2012) provides the concluding section of the feature as the Afterword, subtitled "Exiting Amsterdam's red light district" (p. 195). The author begins with an introduction about Amsterdam's allure for urban scholars, referring to Soja's (2000) description of the city as a "clearly readable" and "centered" public forum where "spontaneous political and cultural ideas" are played out daily (pp. 121-124, as cited in Hubbard, 2012, p. 194). Hubbard acknowledges that many scholars have disputed Soja's view that Amsterdam has resisted the trends towards neoliberalism or neo-conservatism like other cities that have lost their unique historical and authentic qualities. In fact, this thesis and the articles in this feature exemplify perspectives that conflict with Soja's (2003) vision of Amsterdam. On the other hand, it is impossible to deny that in Amsterdam, there is indeed this

public expression of the political and the cultural, as the Redlight Amsterdam initiative illustrates in the feature, and this occurs in the context of a city that seeks to retain its historical identity as it develops its contemporary outlook. Thus, Soja's perspective reinforces my observation that it is necessary to analyze the convergence of politics and culture in the city in order to understand how politics are increasingly entering into the realm of public, everyday life, and culture is increasingly politicized and institutionalized.

In the contemporary context, it is particularly intriguing how:

The Amsterdam city centre *seduces* the urban geographer, its labyrinthine canal network seemingly guiding the walker around an environment that, despite its theme park qualities, displays a reassuring veneer of authenticity and historicity (Hubbard, 2012, p. 195).

Hubbard explains to readers why Amsterdam and the Red Light District in particular offers an insightful and interesting place for urban geographers, with its combinations and contrasts of differences. For example, it offers "old and new, the sacred and profane, noise and stillness", and the Wallen is a space where everything is commoditized, so that places and practices are promoted at the same time as they are regulated and in some cases condemned. It follows that the Red Light District has piqued the interest of a range of scholars who are interested in various aspects of contemporary cities (Hubbard, 2012, p. 196). Importantly, the author explains that the contributions to the journal do not approach the Red Light District as a paradigmatic sex work industry, and they do not only focus on prostitution or the windows themselves. Instead, they introduce the Wallen "in processes of neoliberal urbanism, spectacularization and gentrification" (Hubbard, 2012, p. 196). In the following discussion, Hubbard (2012) questions particular ways that *morality*, *regulation* and *practice* enter into geographies of sex work in relation to the views presented in the feature (p. 196).

First, the author looks at the moral landscape of the Red Light District. This section begins with a comment on stereotypical tourist representations of the Wallen, which tend to be "animated by both desire and disgust" (Hubbard, 2012, p. 196). From this perspective, prostitution is alluring because it is associated with what is typically forbidden and immoral. However, in Amsterdam, regulation factors into the Red Light District and our understandings of moral and proper behavior, which I described in my article in relation to the ways that we can identify spatial governmentality in Red light districts function; and, Hubbard notes that Sabat, among others (e.g. Bernstein, 2007) have pointed to the changing ideas about what is normal and moral (or immoral) in relation to sex, as sex is entering the normalized sphere of commercial activity. Hubbard's reflection on morality suggests that the moral landscape of the Red Light District is largely connected to the commercial landscape of the sex industry. This relates to the representation of morality through touristic representations of spaces of desire and pleasure; commercial sex is described as entering the mainstream by adopting normal business models and entering the realm of normal commercial practices; furthermore, sex and leisure are increasingly intertwined, and all sex is bound into networks of economic exchange (Hubbard, 2012, p. 197). A key point that comes through in this section is that the Red Light District

exemplifies the “gradual sexualization of culture” as a process that reduces “sex to something that can be bought and sold, cut loose from the bounds of moral convention, reproduction and coupledness” (Hubbard, 2012, p. 196); as Sabat explained, the Wallen is “a site that captures the inherent moral ambivalence surrounding sex in contemporary capitalist societies” (Hubbard, 2012, p. 197). From these views on the moral landscape of prostitution, it is clear that the main point is the impact of capitalism on prostitution and the Red Light District. The commoditization of sex and sex work has resulted in the decreasing significance of morality in the landscape of prostitution. On the other hand, if we look at the current interventions with plan 1012, there are new capitalist strategies that are commoditizing people, places and practices in the Red Light District that are not associated with the sexualization of culture that Hubbard describes. The Red A.i.R artists and the former brothels illustrate this point, and yet Hubbard does not discuss how these current changes relate to the morality of the Red Light District. He describes how people experience self-directed disgust when they encounter the “woman-as-commodity” in the Red Light District and acknowledge their inherent complicity in the situation, yet he does not reflect on the comparable situation that Lengerer (2012) points out through his performance when he forces his audience to reflect on their context, how they ended up there and the fact that in being there they agree that they are all in it together (p. 179).

In the section that follows, Hubbard (2012) elaborates on how forms of regulation have impacted the landscape of prostitution and the Red Light District. The focus is on:

An important shift in the regulation of prostitution from coercive control via criminal law and police control to a more diffuse social control through the regulation of space (p. 198).

This kind of regulation is justified because the state and local governments can limit and control the conditions of sex work in terms of what is sold, where and how it takes place. Licensing brothels rather than workers makes it easier for authorities to collect revenues from the industry and also makes it easier for them to control the spaces of business, for example in terms of hours of operation and building codes (Hubbard, 2012, p. 198). This is another example of how legislation is used to exert socio-spatial control over the industry. These laws do not directly act on the workers, but they designate where they are allowed to work and the conditions under which they practice their trade. As I explained in my article, Hubbard (2012) reminds readers that the pragmatic approach that the Dutch take towards regulating prostitution does not reflect liberalism or tolerance towards sex work (p. 198). Instead, it is a strategy for organizing and controlling the area. In fact, the windows are beings “planned out of existence” under plan 1012, as Aalbers and Deinema explain, thus it follows that they are no longer vital to the re-imagined landscape of the Red Light District. Hubbard presents the view that I have conveyed throughout this project: plan 1012 combines the trope of the criminogenic sex industry with the discourse of the creative city in order to promote and justify reforms like Redlight Amsterdam, which displace prostitutes and prostitution and replace them with

creative entrepreneurs and creative/cultural industries. The aim is to “re-imagine the Wallen as a hip, fashionable district that is edgy, but free from criminal influence” (Hubbard, 2012, p. 199). Furthermore, Hubbard suggests that creative city discourses construct the sex worker in opposition to the liberal subjects of the creative city, “standing in the way of developments promoting and normalizing the values of the ‘creative class’” (Hubbard, 2012, p. 199). An example of such developments would be the Redlight Art program that is introduced in this project and included in this special issue. My case study of Red A.i.R and my analyses of the artists’ contributions in this feature problematize this view of the subjects of these discourses. The artists did not experience their positions as liberal subjects of the city, and they did not identify as part of the creative class. When they reflected on their situations, they identified more with the sex workers who had previously served a particular function in the city, which acquired meaning and significance largely because of their positions in the Red Light District.

In the final sections of the afterward, Hubbard reflects on what the feature contributes to an academic discourse on the landscape of prostitution in Amsterdam’s Red Light District and what is lacking. Importantly, the papers convey key arguments that reflect the contradictory nature of the landscape of prostitution: it is a key element of Amsterdam’s global image and identity, while it is increasingly contributing to a discourse on criminality that is central to the reforms in the city; it is presented as a form of legitimate work, yet it is organized and controlled in particular (gendered, socio-spatial) ways. He points out that the articles shed light on the significance of the agency of different groups who experience and bring the spaces to life through their everyday practices, suggesting that further analyses pay more attention to “street-level interactions (looks, conversations, touches)” and “authorized representations of places (plans, policies, documents)”. This, he suggests, will bring forth a more holistic body of research on the landscape of prostitution in Amsterdam’s Red Light District (Hubbard, 2012, p. 200).

---

## 6.9 *Re-making the Landscape of Prostitution: Concluding Remarks*

---

This chapter introduced an academic discourse of reform into my analysis. The discourse introduced the context of reform through the theme of the changing landscape of prostitution and Amsterdam’s Red Light District in particular. I have concluded with this case study intentionally for specific reasons: 1) the academic discourse illustrates how scholarship engages with and is influenced by policy/administrative discourses and discourses from intervention and how these can be considered intertwined in an analysis of culture and in discourses of cultural policy and reform; 2) the different articles refer to each of the case studies that I introduced in the prior chapters; 3) it introduces the discourse of this study, exemplifying how my project and future studies have the

capacity to enhance the discursive links between research, policy and practice and cultural theory and analysis.

Although the topic of the feature is the landscape of prostitution in Amsterdam's Red Light District, the articles specifically discuss the *changing* landscape of prostitution, and thus, the articles introduce this socio-spatial context through a discourse of reform. In the first four sections, prostitution- approached through Amsterdam's Red Light District- offers an entry point for discussions on policies and reforms in Amsterdam. On the other hand, the contributions from the curator and artists of Red A.i.R approached the changes that resulted from the displacement of prostitution from particular spaces in the Red Light District. Their contributions offered insight into a part of the Red Light District that was undergoing reform and exemplified how the landscape of prostitution had begun to change as a result of interventions. In the previous chapters, I identified key points that came forth in the individual contributions. In this section, I bring my findings together to elucidate what this discourse on reform can tell us about the governmentality of reform in Amsterdam and how this relates to the concept of culture, in terms of identities, industries, places and practices.

In this section, my aim is to identify key perspectives and themes that came forth through the discourse that I analyzed in the previous sections. Each contribution approached the topic of the feature differently, yet there are certain ideas that were highlighted throughout, and these can elucidate an overarching discourse on the changing landscape of prostitution. Furthermore, this can be analyzed as a discourse of cultural policy and reform in Amsterdam's Red Light District.

A prominent theme throughout the text is that the landscape of prostitution in Amsterdam is largely influenced by policies and discourses of prostitution. The first four articles describe the ways that today's Red Light District has emerged in response to the Netherlands' regulated tolerance and legalization and the promotion of its sex industry on a global scale. Additionally, they all describe how the lifting of the brothel ban impacted the structure of the industry in terms of its organization in the city and its reputation abroad. Another commonality is that all of the articles, including the curator's contribution, take comparative perspectives in order to critique the interventions of Plan 1012.

It is clear that prostitution policies have impacted the Red Light District throughout the city's history. The articles describe how the landscape of prostitution differed from the gaudy adult theme park of today at specific points in the city's history. In fact, at times it was hardly visible in public life, while at others it blended into the neighborhood and functioned within the local life of the city. It follows that prostitution policies might impact the Red Light District and the landscape of prostitution as such, but the landscape of prostitution is not synonymous with the Red Light District. This is highlighted by the case of Redlight Art Amsterdam, which illustrates how policy interventions can impact the landscape of prostitution and the Red Light District without directly intervening in prostitution policy.

In order to understand how policies are intervening in the Red Light District and the landscape of prostitution, it is necessary to look at what is changing, which I have described as the governmentality of reform. When we consider how this impacts the individuals who are subjected to the reforms, we see that the authors agree that plan 1012 will lead to the displacement of sex workers, who will be forced to work elsewhere; additionally, it will result in reduced transparency in the industry, which will likely make it less safe and secure for workers and residents in the Red Light District. The Redlight Art initiative explicitly displaced prostitutes in favor of artists and designers who would work in former brothels, exemplifying one way the City influenced the people in the Red Light District. In terms of the industries that are impacted by the governmentality of reform, it is apparent that when creative workers replace sex workers in former brothels, the sex work industry is overtaken by other industries that are designated as cultural and creative. This corresponds with Hubbard's perspective of the discourse of the creative city that intends to promote and normalize specific creative workers and creative industries at the expense of sex businesses that are deemed to be impediments to the reform agenda (p. 199). In the case of Red A.i.R, we saw how artists felt conflicted with their designations and roles as creative entrepreneurs within the City's reform agenda. Thus, while parts of the Red Light District are no longer characterized by the renowned landscape of prostitution, they are also not necessarily corresponding with the ideals of the cultural reform agenda. Moreover, it becomes apparent that culture is not simply the product of these cultural/creative industries, and it is not the idealized cultural image of the reform agenda. Instead, we have to understand how the concept of culture is informed by individuals who engage with cultural and creative industries in different ways as well as how perceptions and experiences of the city are impacted by discourses and policies of reform. There are still many people who associate Amsterdam's Red Light District with the city's culture, and in certain ways, such as the Redlight Amsterdam initiative and Redlight Radio, this is being perpetuated; however, the Red Light District is changing.

In his afterword to the feature, Hubbard specifically associates changes in prostitution policy with a broader shift socio-spatial control. He argues that the discourse of the creative city introduces subjects who confront the liberal sex workers and prompt reforms in the spaces of the Red Light District. This perspective coincides with the ideas I introduced in chapter 3, particularly in relation to the target groups of the I amsterdam brand, particularly the subjects of the creative city. His argument also parallels with an argument I advanced in my article, where the creative city thesis is associated with a form of governmentality that intends to regulate the people and practices that contribute to Amsterdam's cultural image through its social life and public spaces. The creative city becomes a discursive tool that constructs subjects of strategic reform policies that intend to achieve particular socio-spatial goals. As the previous examples show, the creative city designates a creative class, but it also constructs people who are excluded or displaced by the subjects of the creative city discourse.



As I mentioned, I concluded with this case study intentionally because it addressed the topics that I analyzed in my prior analyses, and it included the discourses that I analyzed within an academic discourse. Above, I referred to a link between the creative city discourse in this feature and the discourse on city marketing that I considered in my analysis of the administrative/policy discourse. At this point, I want to turn to Serino's contribution to the journal, where she explicitly discusses the relationship between artists and prostitutes and frames this within a discourse of the creative industries. The curator acknowledges the City's explicit preference of creative workers over sex workers, but she also describes the City's lack of support for the artists who participated in Red A.i.R and suggests that the artists became unwanted when they did not embrace their positions as artists within the cultural industry; instead, they remained critical of their roles in Red A.i.R and the city. Here, the academic discourse engages with the discourse from intervention that I introduced in the previous chapter. Serino and the artists offer perspectives that prompt readers to reflect on how cultural policies and interventions can potentially reform socio-spatial contexts in ways that differ from the administrative/policy agenda. Their contribution is distinct from the others that comprise the academic discourse that I consider and is atypical for this kind of publication. Therefore, it stands out for its inclusion within this academic discourse. In a sense, it becomes part of the academic discourse due to its inclusion within the journal. On the other hand, it informs our understanding of how artists' views and works are influential and insightful for academic scholarship.

The contributions to the special feature in the journal addressed the city marketing and branding, Plan 1012 and Redlight Art in relation to the changing landscape of prostitution in Amsterdam's Red Light District. Whereas my case studies on I amsterdam, Plan 1012 and Red A.i.R introduced the Red Light District and sex work in relation to aspects of the reforms, this discourse on reform shifts the focus. It allows us to focus on the discursive practices that are shifting away from the liberalism of sex work and a market-based approach for regulating a legitimate industry towards a neo-liberal agenda and the gentrification of Amsterdam's Red Light District. This is a shift that I noticed in my earlier case studies, which I began to consider in terms of the governmentality of reform and interventions in the socio-spatial life in the city. In my conclusions, I elaborate on this idea, which can be elucidated through what I have identified through my final case study of the Red Light District and the policies and reforms that are transforming the landscape of prostitution.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

---

In this project, my original question was based on the presupposition that there was an important distinction between *culture* that was referred to in cultural policy and cultural reform and *culture* that was attributed to and experienced in the city. My aim was to approach culture as a concept that I could view as an empty circle that I intended to fill through CDA of policies and reforms that centered on notions of the city's image and identity. At the start of my project, I directed my analyses towards certain presuppositions about culture, questioning how discourses of reform influenced identities, industries, places and practices. I examined four case studies through Critical Discourse Analysis, and my research supported this perspective in various ways: For example, in my first case study of the I amsterdam brand, there was a clear distinction between the present and ideal image of the city that came forth through the discourse of strategic city marketing; in my second case study of plan 1012, it was apparent that certain target groups were supposed to promote the city, and certain reforms were supposed to enhance its cultural landscape; we also saw how the creative industry was used to promote a particular kind of culture, while another aspect of the city's culture was linked to negative elements within the city; in my third case study, the artists' different intentions and reflections conveyed divergent ideas about culture in the city in comparison with the cultural policy agenda; finally, in my fourth case study, academic perspectives highlighted how past and present policies and reforms related to different people's perspectives and experiences of the city.

The ways that the discourses framed reform in relation to what was being reformed in the city was indicative of how different discursive forms functioned in constructing information about the city and its culture, as it was undergoing reform. My objective was to understand the complex network of discourses on culture that contributed to the concept of culture in Amsterdam and to theorize this in relation to the reforming socio-spatial context of the city. In order to study how culture, as a concept and through content, was meaningful in my study, I introduced two models for applying critical discourse analysis to the context of my study: Fairclough's three-dimensional model for approaching discourse (Fairclough, 1992, p. 73) and Meyer's cyclical model (Meyer, 2009, p. 19). The two models allowed me to account for culture in terms of discourses of culture, in its more objective sense, and from a more theoretically guided approach.

This method enabled me to divide my case studies into three categories of discourses of reform: Administrative/policy discourses, Discourses from intervention and Academic discourses. I analyzed each discourse separately, while I narrowed my focus to particular spaces and policies, in order to consider particular similarities and patterns that related to the concept of culture that I was studying in this project. Thus, it is important to acknowledge that the outcome is a conceptualization of culture that understands culture to be the product of the policies, practices and theories that I studied. This approach was important for maintaining the critical aspect of this project. It illuminated how different discourses of cultural policy and reform impact the concept and content of culture and

importantly, how these discourses often engage with and confront each other. Furthermore, I have identified certain links between the discourses that elucidate how culture should be understood as the result of different, but not isolated, discursive practices that operate within a discourse of culture. In my analyses of policy/administrative discourses, it became apparent that scholarship on city marketing and branding was important in the development of the strategic plan for branding Amsterdam. It was also clear that the City prioritized the roles and value of certain people, including artists and academics, including those who contributed to the discourses from intervention and the academic discourse. Thus, while my project does not conclude with a concrete definition of culture, my analyses have resulted in important insight into the ways that different discourses and perspectives interact in discursive processes that conceptualize culture.

For each case study, my objective was to analyze how discursive materials framed culture in relation to reforms in Amsterdam's city center. My hypothesis was that it would be possible to understand the content of culture by identifying what was being reformed through cultural policies. Furthermore, it was necessary to approach my research through different perspectives- or discourses- to consider the different ways that people experienced and represented culture in the context of my study. Each discourse framed reform in relation to social and spatial conditions within the city. My first case study of the I amsterdam brand took a broader look at the city, and it revealed how city marketing and branding identified particular groups of people and businesses as valuable targets of city marketing. Furthermore, this case study illustrated how policies and reform strategies designated particular places within the city as more culturally significant than others and promoted them through the brand. Thus, this case study confirmed my hypothesis that we could understand how culture was conceptualized in the discourse of policies through analyzing what was being reformed by cultural policies.

My second case study narrowed my focus to the 1012 postcode region. Here, the focus was on how this area and particular spaces were associated with certain conceptualizations of quality- in terms of 'quality of life' or 'high quality' establishments- and the everyday life of the city. The discourse of reform centered on replacing less desirable businesses and attractions with more desirable ones and enhancing the quality of the businesses and thus the quality of life in the area. In this sense, there was a clear emphasis on improving and enhancing the cultural image and identity of this part of the city by attracting people who were enticed by higher quality establishments. Simultaneously, there was the implication that certain elements of this part of the city would be displaced, reflecting the desire to eliminate undesirable aspects of the city's socio-spatial/cultural composition.

My third case study zoomed in on the Red Light District and the spaces where the Red A.i.R residency programme took place. A key element of the reform that occurred through Red A.i.R was the exchange of brothels for artist studios, reflecting the prioritization of the creative industry over the sex work industry in these spaces. This also signifies the increasing role of artists in this context

of reform, in contrast with the prostitutes, who are being displaced. Yet, my analyses from this case study also bring into question the relationship between art, artists and culture in the context of policy and reform. Thus, this case study offers information about how certain elements relate to changing priorities in discourses of culture, and it also illustrates how different people reflect on culture and their roles and situations in relation to culture and cultural policies and reforms. This is something that I return to in my final study, when I analyze an academic discourse of reform that focuses on the landscape of prostitution in Amsterdam's Red Light District. The discourse studied reflects on the broader context of the city, while it also focuses on the specific areas that are considered in each of my case studies and the ways that policies have approached a particular issue within a particular space over time. Finally, my last case study offered important information about how scholarship represents and reflects on discourses of cultural policy and reform and how it can contribute to the discourses that I studied in this project, which was also illuminated in my first case study. It also highlights the interaction between the different discourses of reform that I analyzed.

Through this project, I have illustrated how culture is a concept that becomes relevant and significant in different discourses of reform in different ways. Furthermore, these different conceptualizations of culture cannot be understood as separate or distinct, but they must be understood as inextricable from each other. Thus, alongside my aim of analyzing culture as a diversely significant concept, this project also intended to present CDA as a productive method for theorizing and analyzing contemporary culture. In particular, this project aimed at illustrating the necessity for reflecting on how we understand culture when culture itself is at the center of policies and processes of reform. CDA proved to be a productive method for distinguishing the different kinds of information that was available for me to research and analyze in order to understand how culture was represented and reformed in relation to a particular policy area in Amsterdam. Through my research, I was able to identify similarities in the discourses I studied and theorize how these related to images and ideas about culture and cultural policy and reform in Amsterdam.

My central question addressed the relationship between the concept of culture in cultural policies and the culture that is attributed to the meaning and identity of Amsterdam. From the start, I expected to find that culture could not be defined in terms of one or the other. On the other hand, I noted that it was frequently used in discourses that conveyed particular ideas about places and their identities, as well as the everyday lives and practices of the inhabitants and visitors who identified with and gave meaning to notions of culture.

My objective was to question if/how the changes in policies and practices related to changes in culture. In the remainder of this concluding chapter, I discuss how the different discourses of policies and reforms that I have analyzed are insightful for conceptualizing and theorizing culture in this study. I conclude with a discussion on the contributions that my project offers to further studies of culture in contexts that are undergoing culture-led reform.

I first introduced the administrative/policy discourse of reform. I began with an analysis of two documents on city marketing and branding through the I amsterdam brand. This case study revealed the link between culture and economics in the City's approach towards promoting its image and identity through city marketing and branding. In response to the question of the relationship between the culture of cultural policies and the culture that is attributed to the meaning and identity of the city, it is necessary to reflect on how this discourse established and promoted culture through a city marketing and branding agenda.

In order to justify culture-led reforms, the discourse introduced a narrative of the benefits that could be derived from enhancing the city's image and identity. It framed reform in terms of particular key values- creativity, innovation, spirit of commerce- that were promoted through its brand. These values were used as the bases for introducing policies and strategies for reforming the cultural image and identity of the city. The discourse also links these values to the target audiences, broadly defined as visitors, businesses, residents, and more specifically broken down into 7 groups, as described in Chapter 3.3. This discourse emphasizes the different roles that specific actors are supposed to play in coordinating and promoting the city's new image and identity. These people are also associated with particular institutions and organizations that are described with designated roles in the city marketing agenda. Thus, it is clear that in this discourse, culture describes more than a set of values or elements of the city; it is also the product of people's and organizational and institutional practices within the city, which are accounted for within the policy/administrative discourse of reform.

This case study substantiated my proposition that it is productive to study culture-led policy through Foucault's concept of governmentality in order to understand the changing contexts of (cultural) policy and reform. Firstly, this was apparent in the strategic approach for marketing and branding the city. This entrepreneurial strategy corresponds with a technology of government that is based on an economic rationality. Additionally, this governmentality intended to influence the population of the city through its marketing and branding strategy. The I amsterdam brand was developed with the intention of promoting a particular image and identity for the city through key values that were associated with specific stories, symbols or icons of the city. In order for these values to become meaningful, they needed to be recognized and activated by certain people, who were the targets and subjects of the brand. On the surface, the city's brand might seem general, but there were specific rules for how it could be used, and these were intended for conveying an ideal version of Amsterdam to targeted groups of existing and potential users of the city. The statement "I amsterdam" itself suggests that users subjectify themselves through the brand and become responsible for and accountable to the brand. This is why the target groups are so important. The documents attempt to represent these groups as inherently coinciding with the key values of the city, suggesting they have the closest "mental" relationship with Amsterdam; however, this actually exemplifies how this discourse contributes to the governmentality of the city through the discourse

of reform. The documents introduce particular values and link these values to particular people and practices and the city, constructing a link between these people and practices and the city. Thus it conveys an image of Amsterdam that becomes the city's identity through the target groups and individuals who are constructed as subjects of the governmentality of cultural policies and reforms.

My second case study intended to narrow my focus to a particular area that was being reformed in the city center. Through my analysis of documents on Plan 1012, I also identified a distinct discourse on reform that was presented from the policy/administrative perspective. The image of the future is presented in contrast with the problems that need to be addressed in the current context. The documents construct a narrative of reform that emphasizes the importance of policies that will make the city safer, while they simultaneously improve the economic situation and the quality of the spaces in the city center. This case study exemplifies how security is central to the strategies and discourses of reform that present Plan 1012. Here is another way that Foucauldian governmentality is productive for analyzing the policies and processes of reform in Amsterdam, since governmentality functions through technologies of security, as opposed to control or discipline. Furthermore, an analytics of governmentality is a study of:

A particular 'stratum' of knowing and acting. Of the emergence of particular 'regimes of truth' concerning the conduct of conduct, ways of speaking truth, persons authorized to speak truths, ways of enacting truths and the costs of so doing. Of the invention and assemblage of particular apparatuses and devices for exercising power and intervening upon particular problems (Rose, 1999, p. 19).

My third case study presents discourses from intervention. In light of my analyses of my first two case studies, I realized that these discourses came from target groups who were described in policy/administrative discourses. Therefore, these were not only discourses that were intervening in the context of policy of reform; they were also interacting with the policy/administrative perspective.

My decision to include the Red A.i.R residency program as a case study in this project was based on particular ways that it related to my prior case studies. It offered a specific example of cultural reform that was taking place in the 1012 postcode area that I analyzed in my second case study. It also introduced diverse perspectives from people who were participating in the process of reform. These included the artists who were selected to participate in the residency; additionally, my analysis accounted for the organizations and individuals that engaged with the artists throughout the residency. My analyses of documents from the residency and my observations throughout the program enabled me to consider this range of perspectives. Furthermore, I identified the artists and the people who visited the spaces of the residency- for example locals and tourists passing through- as members of the target groups of Amsterdam's marketing and branding. Specifically, the artists were invited to participate in the project based on their roles as creative workers. They were invited to contribute to the creative, cultural image of the city through their active participation in the socio-spatial reform of the Red Light District. The people who visited the spaces of the residency were the

individuals who were targeted by reforms that were intended to attract people with culture that higher quality than what had existed in the former brothels before the artists took over these spaces.

A significant outcome of this case study was the illumination of the divergence between the administrative objectives and the outcomes of the project. The residency program was based on the idea that the artists themselves, as well as their practices and productions, were aspects of this strategy for cultural reform. The artists replaced prostitutes in former brothels, in an exchange that intended to signify the enhanced creative and cultural quality of the area. This exchange intended to symbolize the transformation of the brothel into the artist's studio, which in turn was meant to attract visitors who were interested in the cultural and creative output of the artists. The city attracted creative workers who agreed to participate in Red A.i.R, suggesting that this strategy succeeded in appealing to members of its target audience. However, my analyses of Red A.i.R suggest that the artists participated in the reforms in ways that did not coincide with the City's agenda. Furthermore, the artists expressed conflicted views about their roles in the city.

The different ways that the administrative/policy perspective and the artists conceptualized the reform program offer different ways of understanding culture in relation to identities, industries, places and practices in this case. The residency implies the prioritization of artists over prostitutes and the creative industry over sex worker in particular spaces in the Red Light District, and this corresponds with the narrative of securing and enhancing these spaces, as presented in Plan 1012. Targeting and introducing creative workers into these spaces coincides with the City's governmentality of the subjects in the city. This also represents the link between culture and economy, through the creative industry and its workers- perhaps those who Florida would describe as the creative class (Florida, 2002).

The artists' perspectives convey different ideas. They present critical views of the City's decision to exchange prostitutes with artists, whose bodies become subjected to the consumers who visit Amsterdam to gaze upon its cultural content. Like the prostitutes, the artists are positioned behind windows that frame them as objects within the city's cultural landscape. Furthermore, the artists often felt like their positions in the Red Light District implied that they were participants in the City's agenda, which negated the possibility for them to work autonomously, beyond the scope of cultural policy and reform. Thus, as we saw, the artists chose to produce works that reflected their critical perspectives of their situations.

The city branding scheme and the red light reforms were conceptualized for the preservation, promotion and production of revised cultural materials that would re-present the city according to the renowned (and I would suggest recycled)<sup>37</sup> ideals of Amsterdam's cultural identity

---

<sup>37</sup> While the intention was to build upon existing attributes of Amsterdam's identity, hence I use the word "renowned," I find the word recycled to be more accurate. Recycling implies that the raw materials are the same (i.e. qualities, spaces, structures) but the product is something new and distinct (i.e. tolerant, red light

that have been reflected back upon the city through the images and imaginations from local and global perspectives. Symbols such as the Red Light District were used to redistribute cultural value and significance to cultural materials that have always been embedded in Amsterdam's cultural identity. In the Red Light District, examples included Redlight fashion designers, who displayed their commodities in former prostitution windows that display the "I amsterdam" logo and converted brothels in which various designers have set up shop, with entryways that display the words "NO SEX" in big red block letters. These are examples of how cultural entrepreneurs and artists supposedly benefit from the symbolism and initial intrigue that these Red Light District reforms will offer. The retention of "Redlight" brands and the reference to the history and culture that remains inscribed upon these spaces indicates that the symbolic value of the area has not diminished, while in reality, the actual sex work industry has been largely displaced. Another striking and paradoxical example is the statue of Belle, who stands proudly in front of the prostitute-free Oudekerksplein, in remembrance of a prostitute who was murdered in Amsterdam's Red Light District in 2007. The large statue represents a woman in a window frame, standing confidently in the public street, with an inscription that reads, "Respect sex workers all over the world". At the end of the red light reforms, this statue might be the only allusion to the sex work industry that once flourished around the Oudekerksplein, and in this respect it is questionable if she will be seen as a symbol of sex workers' rights or their oppression.

As a strategy was developed for promoting Amsterdam through its brand, it was recognized that the City would need to rely on the qualities that were already world-renowned draws for the city. Through reference to traits that were recognized as components of the city's identity, Amsterdam would be able to develop its name in accordance with a new branded identity for the world to see, recognize and come to identify as contemporary Amsterdam. The way that the Redlight art projects have deployed the symbolism of the Red Light District while displacing large parts of the sex work industry is an example of this strategy for re-presenting the city through its established acclaim. The artists' experiences and responses to their situations in the context of reform illustrate how particular targets of the reforms intervene in the context and culture of policy and reform.

My analyses of the city center and particularly the Red Light District illuminate how these ideas function in discourses of reform. City administrators are contributing to the dominant discourse of prostitution as pathological when they speak of their plans to clean up the city's central Red Light District. This is achieved when they express views that reflect local and global perspectives that prostitution is associated with high-risk areas for organized crime. It is also enacted through policies and plans that redefine the institutional context of the sex work industry and redistribute power within a reformed socio-spatial order. One clear example of this comes from the data and

---

district, brothel). This, I believe, was the intention of city administrators who initiated reforms in the red light spaces.



opinions that suggest that the perspectives and resulting positions of today's sex workers have not adequately been considered in the process of drafting and implementing the plans for the inner city center (e.g. Aalbers and Deinema, 2012). Thus, while an official declaration of intent to oversee and regulate the sex work industry was made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the administrative outlook in Amsterdam has shifted its attention towards tackling organized crime, to the detriment of the sex workers. This raises questions regarding the interplay between the national and municipal authorities and their politics that seem in conflict in the processes of transformation within this part of Amsterdam. On the other hand, the reforms in the area intend to redefine ideas about the city's reputation as liberal and tolerant. This is achieved through referring to the ways that the reforms are enhancing the city's cultural and creative industries, for example through the Redlight Amsterdam initiative and other reforms that intend to attract new people and businesses to the city. The discourses of reform focus on the ways that the plans will lead to other kinds of socio-economic diversity in the area and undermine the fact that certain people will be excluded or displaced in the process.

It is also important to recognize that Amsterdam's Red Light District is not only limited to the business of prostitution in the sex work industry. It has a rich history and has continuously evolved as a significant component of the city's identity; it has formed the basis for a large tourism industry and a vast commodity culture, as well as a global imaginary that perceives the city and at times the country in light of its liberal approach towards prostitution and its Red Light District, and as such, it is recognized as a symbol of identification with and within Amsterdam; moreover, it is an area of local and national policies. In all of these ways, it is comparable to the emerging city brand, or at least what it is aspiring to become within the city. While I amsterdam does not have the historical relevance or significance of the Red Light District, it is striving to become a key component of the city's image and identity and a source of the city's conceptual and material culture. In the case of the Red Light District and the imagination of liberal, tolerant Amsterdam that it conveys, Amsterdammers do not appear to be the subjects who- at least not singlehandedly- revitalize cultural materials or their symbolic value. Yet, the sex work industry, and the perceived liberal culture of sexuality that surrounds it, provide a prominent example of how objects, spaces or images become references to culture that matters; icons are inserted into myths or narratives that perpetuate a regime of truth through the subjects who interact with and through this cultural context. Similarly, the I amsterdam brand- and the 1012 reforms- are not primarily targeting local residents, but they are functioning through the city and subjects who identify with the brand and become the subjects of the city and its revised cultural image and expression.

The scholarship that I considered as part of the academic discourse on the reforms also introduces information about the cultural image and identity of the city and how this relates to policies and reforms. An analysis of reforms in the Red Light District confirmed my view that this part of the city was significant in relation to the broader reform agenda. The feature on changes in

prostitution not only included content on the Redlight Art initiatives, but it addressed the larger processes of reform that were taking place in the city, including the city marketing and branding campaign and project 1012. It also reflected on the city's image and identity in relation to local and global perspectives and experiences that were informed by the organization and regulation of the city's sex work industry.

### **Governmentality, Reform and Culture**

I began this project with the proposition that governmentality would offer a productive concept for analyzing culture in relation to the policies and reforms in Amsterdam. Throughout my case studies, and in the previous section of my conclusion, it became clear how this concept enabled me to approach my research in terms of the *governmentality of reform*. Specifically, this concept enabled me to respond to my questions about how discourses of policies and reforms impacted individuals/identities, industries, places and practices that were associated with culture in the city. In retrospect, I realize that what I was analyzing was the *governmentality of culture* in the discourses that I was analyzing. On the one hand, one might expect an analysis of culture-led reforms to result in information about culture. However, my project offered more than simply analyses of what was deemed cultural at the moment when reforms were taking place. In my analyses of different discourses of reform, my focus was continually directed towards the ways that culture related to the population (identities and individuals), political economy (industries) and narratives/apparatuses of the security of the city (places and (discursive) practices), reflecting Foucault's characterization of governmentality, which "has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument" (Foucault, Security, 2009, p. 108). In this final section, I elaborate on how governmentality is productive for contemporary cultural analyses that intend to approach contexts that are confronting culture-led policy and reform, like the context considered in this study.

At the start of my project, a key objective was to approach culture as a concept that has become significant in contexts where policies are strategically intervening in the life and space of cities through discourses of culture itself. This was based on the observation that culture is becoming increasingly central to discourses of policy and reform in particular ways and contexts, which are exemplified by the case of Amsterdam. Specifically, Amsterdam presents a city where the contemporary urban policies and reforms that I studied can be described as *cultural* policies and reforms because of how they relate to- or intervene with- culture in the city. Thus, it is a case where we can study 1) these kinds of policies and reforms that are described as cultural; 2) the shift in the context of policies and reforms, in relation to the socio-spatial and cultural life of the city. Through discourse analysis, my aim was to identify 1) what was cultural in terms of policies and reforms, and 2) how discourse functioned in the strategic reform of culture through the socio-spatial life of the

city. Importantly, both of my objectives account for my presupposition that the policies and reforms and discourses themselves function in ways that should be analyzed as cultural, in addition to their cultural content and significance in the city. Thus, I introduced Foucault's concept of governmentality as an analytical tool that would enable me to account for the different ways that discourses impacted and reflected culture through policies and reforms.

Governmentality is a concept that is derived from the terms "government" and "mentality", offering a tool for analyzing the convergence of technologies of government work and a new political rationality. In this case, it is a concept that is productive for analyzing how discourses of cultural policies and reforms relate to a particular rationality that is linked to reforming the cultural image and identity of the city. In order to study and theorize culture in contexts of cultural policy and reform, I am arguing that it is necessary to understand this rationality- or governmentality- of cultural policy that is intervening in the cultural life of the city. As a concept, governmentality offers a tool that will enable scholars to gain important insight into the complex contexts in which cultural policies and reforms are intervening in the social life and space of cities. As Cotoi (2011) explains, an analytics of governmentality is not about "a new theory or paradigm", but it seeks "a new perspective, a new area of research":

The starting point consists of a basic set of questions: how is it possible to utter true statements about persons, their behavior and ways of intervening on these? How were the truths put into practice and by whom...as alternatives to what truths? The area that is thus opened by the analytics of governmentality is that part of the 'history of the present' created by the invention, contestation and operationalization of various rational programmes and techniques that try to conduct behaviours so that specific results can be obtained (p. 112).

This perspective justifies my proposition that governmentality is a productive concept for analyzing culture in contexts of cultural policy and reform. The first important point for researchers to acknowledge is that it is necessary to take a new perspective for studying culture, when culture itself is directing policies and reforms and is, at the same time, targeted by these policies and reforms. This is what Cotoi means by referring to the need for a new area of research: culture is not only what exists and can be studied, but it is also what is being intervened with for specific results; thus, the concept of culture that should be studied in contexts of cultural policy and reform is culture, as it can be understood through "the history of the present", or the conceptual space between the present and the future that is the context of cultural policy and reform interventions. The aim, then, is to understand how policies and strategies intervene in the social life and space of cities, and how this changes understandings and experiences of culture.

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, I began this project with the goal of approach culture as an empty circle. In retrospect, it is important to acknowledge that this approach still depended on a set of presupposed and objectified cultural dimensions that framed the concept of culture that I approached through my critical discourse analyses. Nevertheless, through analyzing the broad dimensions of Amsterdam's image and identity through discourses of reform, I concluded that

identities, industries, places and practices offer productive dimensions for cultural analyses that are guided by the concept of governmentality. The different case studies offer a range of examples of the ways cultural policies and reforms target the population for particular reasons. As a concept, population offers a tool that enables researchers to identify regularities among groups and individuals that are referred to in discourses, “and such things may be both analytical tools and objects of intervention” (Curtis, 2002, p. 509). City marketing and branding depend on particular people to act as brand carriers and for others to be attracted by the marketing and branding; economic upgrades in the city intended to attract particular people to the city and displace others, who became unwanted or unwelcome as a result of the narratives of reform. This occurred through the construction of a concept of the population that articulated distinctions between individuals who were identified as members of the social body or were represented as outside or absent from the discourse of reform. In this way, it becomes apparent how “the concept of population is central to the creation of new orders of knowledge, new objects of intervention, new forms of subjectivity” (Curtis, 2002, p. 507). Artist in residency programs are one way that creative workers are used as part of an agenda for promoting the growth of the cultural and creative industries and attracting particular people to certain areas where other people have been displaced.

Foucault explains that the economy itself is an isolated domain of reality that is distinct from “political economy as both a science and a technique of intervention in this field of reality” (Foucault, *Security*, 2009, p. 108). Again, my analyses of cultural policies and reforms illustrate this point. City marketing and branding have clear economic objectives, but they are also strategies that are organized based on economic principles. Not only the city, but aspects of the city, its culture and even its population, are characterized according to the values they can offer to a particular agenda. Similarly, reforms for improving the quality of life and quality of space in the city are based on how particular improvements will be economically beneficial for the city. Target groups are ranked according to their potential value for the city, and culture becomes associated with people and industries that are deemed most lucrative. Artists become agents of cultural policies and reforms, and their bodies, practices and works become valuable within the context, politics and economics of reform.

Finally, my project illustrated how security was operationalized in the governmentality of the city. Foucault explains: “Regulation within the element of reality is fundamental in apparatuses of security (Foucault, *Security*, 2009, p. 47). Security is not just a mechanism of safety, or security in the literal sense, but it is about securing ideas and regulating processes and practices through governmentality. Security, understood this way, offers a starting point for considering the mechanisms through which cultural policies potentially intervene in culture, either as they intend to or with unforeseen outcomes. All of my case studies exemplified different ways that cultural policies and reforms responded to aspects of Amsterdam’s cultural image and identity. In the case of city marketing and branding, these responses intended to promote key aspects of the city’s culture and

redirect attention away from a few areas that were presented in ways that made them seem less relevant to the city's culture and less appealing; similarly, in discussions of the reforms in the city center, the strategic response to undesirable people and practices was to represent them as impediments to the current socio-cultural and economic quality of the city and thus the future potential of the city. Here, particular aspects of the city were acknowledged as productive and others as destructive, and these functioned in discourses of the ideal image of the city, which was constructed as both normal and desirable. The artists were part of the discourse for securing the city until they no longer fit in with the City's agenda. When they were deemed unproductive, the artists stopped receiving support from the City and its partners who repossessed the buildings and planned to redevelop them for the residential market.

Broadly speaking, this project has presented an example of how contemporary cultural policies and reforms function through the *governmentality of culture*. Critical Discourse Analysis has proven to be a productive method for researching and analyzing discourses of reform, and importantly, it has revealed how Foucault's concept of governmentality can be used to understand culture in terms of contemporary policies and reforms that impact culture in relation to individuals/identities, industries, places and practices that are linked to ideas of culture in the city. While this project only offered one example of this approach and addressed a particular context within the city I studied, the method and analytical approach should not be overlooked for its potential for future research. Research on contemporary cultural policies has tended to focus on the cultural or economic dimensions of these policies and has not offered comprehensive information about the culture that is foundational to policies or reform agendas. Additionally, scholarship has not reflected on the ways that the concept or preconceived notions of culture impact the policy perspective or how particular policies can be seen to reflect cultural aspects of the context in which they are implemented. The CDA of reform has revealed how a governmentality approach can facilitate more comprehensive studies of key cultural dimensions of policy interventions. Specifically, this project has illustrated how the governmentality of culture offers a toolkit for contemporary cultural analyses in terms of identities, industries, places and practices.

## 8. WORKS CITED

---

- Aalbers, M. (2005). Big sister is watching you! Gender interaction and the unwritten rules of the Amsterdam red-light district. *Journal Of Sex Research*, 42(1), 54-62. doi:10.1080/00224490509552257
- Aalbers, M., & Deinema, M. (2012). Placing prostitution. *City*, 16(1-2), 129-145. doi:10.1080/13604813.2012.662370
- Aalbers, M., & Sabat, M. (2012). Re-making a Landscape of Prostitution: the Amsterdam Red Light District. *City*, 16(1-2), 112-128. doi:10.1080/13604813.2012.662372
- Aëgerter, L. (2012). Laurence Aegerter: Opening Soon/Opening Now. *City*, 16(1-2), 190-194. doi:10.1080/13604813.2012.679134
- Arsenault, A. (2007, December 17). Dim View of Red Lights: Amsterdam mayor takes aim at sex trade. *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/reportsfromabroad/arsenault/20071217.html>
- Asante, A., & Schaapman, K. (2005). *Het onzichtbare zichtbaar gemaakt: prostitutie in Amsterdam anno 2005*. Retrieved from [http://www.amsterdam.pvda.nl/upload/docs/050520\\_notitie\\_prostitutie\\_def.doc](http://www.amsterdam.pvda.nl/upload/docs/050520_notitie_prostitutie_def.doc)
- Barker, C. (2008). *Cultural studies*. London: Sage.
- Baycan, T. (2011). Creative Cities: Context and Perspectives. In T. Baycan, P. Nijkamp & L. Fusco Girard (Eds.), *Sustainable City and Creativity* (pp. 15-53). Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Bell, A. (1991). *The language of news media*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Bennett, T. (1998). *Culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- Berenschot. (2003). *Choosing Amsterdam – Brand, concept and organisation of the city marketing*. Amsterdam: City of Amsterdam. Retrieved from <http://www.iamsterdam.com/~media/PDF/choosing-amsterdam.pdf>
- Berenschot. (2004). *The Making of...The city marketing of Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: City of Amsterdam. Retrieved from <http://www.iamsterdam.com/~media/PDF/the-making-of-the-city-marketing-definitief.pdf>
- Bernstein, E. (2007). Sex Work for the Middle Classes. *Sexualities*, 10(4), 473-488. doi:10.1177/1363460707080984
- Bianchini, F. (1993). Remaking European Cities: The Role of Cultural Policies. In F. Bianchini & M. Parkinson (Eds.), *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration* (pp. 1-20). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Blake, A. (2009). *A Second Exchange: Redesigning the City, Part 3*. Retrieved from <http://vimeo.com/album/173219/video/8534580>
- Blake, A. (2012). Alexis Blake: IN/OUT/EITHER/NEITHER, Reflections of a Choice. *City*, 16(1-2), 180-189. doi:10.1080/13604813.2012.679134
- Bloor, M., & Bloor, T. (2007). *The practice of critical discourse analysis*. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Brants, C. (1998). The Fine Art of Regulated Tolerance: Prostitution in Amsterdam. *Journal of Law & Society*, 25(4), 621-635. doi:10.1111/1467-6478.00106

- Brussa, L. (2009). *Sex Work in Europe: A Mapping of the Prostitution Scene in 25 European Countries*. Amsterdam: Tampep International Foundation. Retrieved from <http://tampep.eu/documents/TAMPEP%202009%20European%20Mapping%20Report.pdf>
- Cotoi, C. (2011). Neoliberalism: A Foucauldian Perspective. *International Review Of Social Research*, 1(2). doi:10.1515/irsr-2011-0014
- Crain, M. (2012). *'I Amsterdam' A Governmentality Approach to City Marketing* (Master's Thesis). University of Amsterdam.
- Daalder, A. (2004). *Lifting the ban on brothels: prostitution in 2000-2001*. The Hague: WODC.
- Dahles, H. (1998). Redefining Amsterdam as a tourist destination. *Annals Of Tourism Research*, 25(1), 55-69. doi:10.1016/s0160-7383(97)00061-3
- Deinema, M., & Kloosterman, R. (2009). The New Urban Question: Urbanism beyond neo-liberalism. In *4th Conference of International Forum on Urbanism* (pp. 121-132). Delft: International Forum on Urbanism.
- During, S. (1993). *The Cultural studies reader*. London: Routledge.
- Edenspiekermann. (2012). *Brand Manual I amsterdam*. Amsterdam. Retrieved from [http://www.iamsterdam.com/~media/Corporate/PDF/AMP\\_Brandmanual\\_4\\_04\\_ENG.pdf](http://www.iamsterdam.com/~media/Corporate/PDF/AMP_Brandmanual_4_04_ENG.pdf)
- European Cities Marketing. (2015). *Home - European Cities Marketing*. Retrieved 14 March 2015, from <http://www.europeancitiesmarketing.com/>
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1<sup>st</sup> Ed.) London: Longman
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Change*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction* (pp. 258-284). London: Sage.
- Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Florida, R. (2005). *The flight of the creative class*. New York: HarperBusiness.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (pp. 87-104). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (2009). *Security, territory, population*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Harvey, D. (1989). From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 71(1), 3. doi:10.2307/490503
- Hawley, C. (2007). Dimming the Red Light: Amsterdam cuts prostitution displays. *Spiegel Online International*. Retrieved from <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,507132,00.html>
- Heeley, J. (2011). *Inside city tourism*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

- Hollandtrade.com. (2013). *Horticulture*. Retrieved September 9, 2015, from <http://www.hollandtrade.com/sector-information/horticulture/?bstnum=4928>
- Hubbard, P., & Whowell, M. (2008). Revisiting the red light district: Still neglected, immoral and marginal?. *Geoforum*, 39(5), 1743-1755. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.05.003
- Hubbard, P., Matthews, R., & Scoular, J. (2008). Regulating sex work in the EU: prostitute women and the new spaces of exclusion. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 15(2), 137-152. doi:10.1080/09663690701863232
- I amsterdam (n.d. a) *Your Guide to visit, enjoy, live, work & invest in Amsterdam*. Retrieved September 9, 2015, from the I amsterdam web portal, <http://www.iamsterdam.com/en/>.
- I amsterdam (n.d. b) *I amsterdam City Card*. Retrieved September 9, 2015, from the I amsterdam web portal, <https://www.iamsterdam.com/en/i-am/i-amsterdam-city-card>
- I amsterdam (2008). *Quality for the Heart of Amsterdam*. Retrieved from <http://www.iamsterdam.com/en/pressroom/dossier-red-light-district>
- I amsterdam (2011). *1012 Under Construction*. Retrieved from <http://www.iamsterdam.com/media/pdf/mediacenter/project-1012-under-construction.pdf?la=en>
- Informa UK Limited (2015). *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action - Aims & scope*. *Tandfonline.com*. Retrieved July 23, 2015, from <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?show=aimsScope&journalCode=ccit20#.VZpM56a6kfd>
- Jacobs, G. (1999). *Preformulating the news*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- Kavaratzis, M., & Ashworth, G. (2007). Partners in coffeeshops, canals and commerce: Marketing the city of Amsterdam. *Cities*, 24(1), 16-25. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2006.08.007
- Kloosterman, R. (2004). Recent Employment Trends in the Cultural Industries in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht: A first exploration. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, 95(2), 243-252. doi:10.1111/j.0040-747x.2004.00304.x
- Korver, S. (2005). *Time out Amsterdam*. London: Time out guides.
- Kotler, P., Haider, D., & Rein, I. (1993). *Marketing places*. New York: Free Press.
- Landry, C., & Bianchini, F. (1995). *The Creative City*. London: Demos.
- Larner, W. (2000). Neo-liberalism: policy, ideology, governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy*, 63 (5-25). Retrieved from <http://spe.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/spe/article/download/6724/3723>
- Lengerer, A. (2012). Achim Lengerer: Hold on, I, too, am drifting...(a speech performance with Kevin Cregan). *City*, 16(1-2), 179-180. doi:10.1080/13604813.2012.679134
- Meyer, M. (2009). In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 14-32). London: SAGE Publications.
- Miles, M. (2005). Interruptions: Testing the rhetoric of culturally led urban development. *CURS*, 42(5), 889-911. doi:10.1080/00420980500107375
- Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. (2009). *Cultural Policy in the Netherlands*. The Hague and Amsterdam: Boekmanstudies.

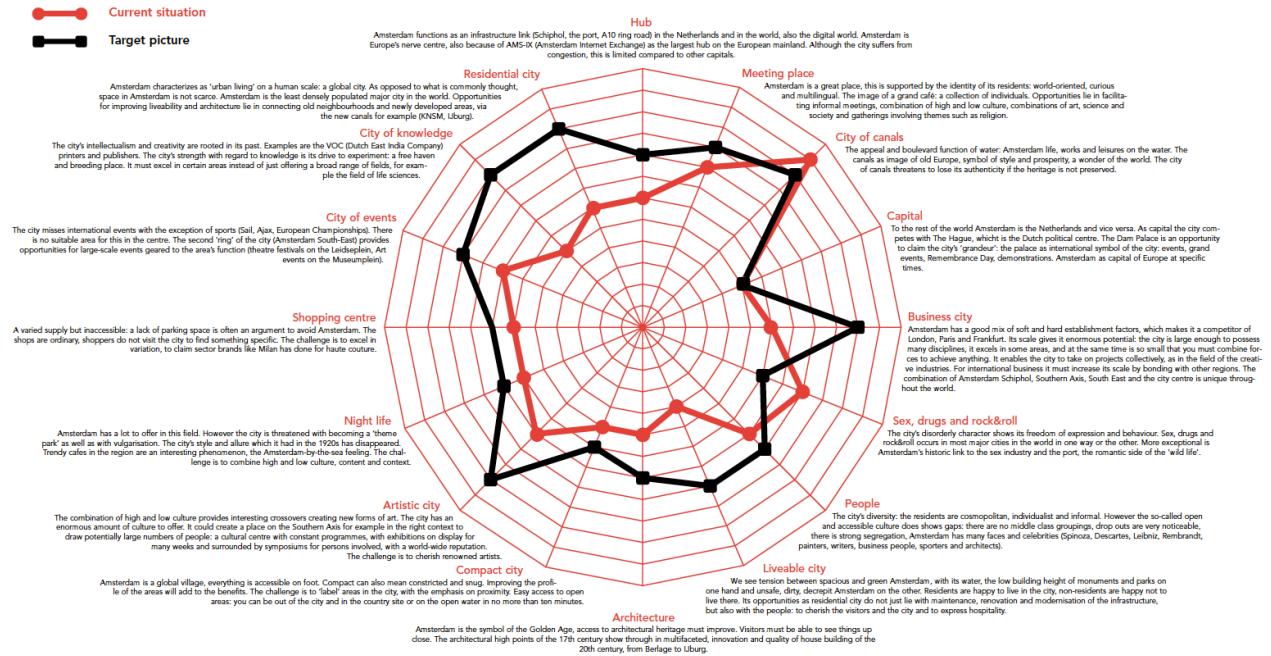


- Nijman, J. (1999). Cultural globalization and the identity of place: the reconstruction of Amsterdam. *Cultural Geographies*, 6(2), 146-164. doi:10.1177/096746089900600202
- Park, D. (2012). *The light of Amsterdam*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Peck, J. (2012). Recreative City: Amsterdam, Vehicular Ideas and the Adaptive Spaces of Creativity Policy. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 36(3), 462-485. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01071.x
- Pol, L., & Waters, L. (2011). *The burgher and the whore*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pratt, A. (2010). Creative cities: Tensions within and between social, cultural and economic development. *City, Culture And Society*, 1(1), 13-20. doi:10.1016/j.ccs.2010.04.001
- Pruijt, H. (2012). Culture Wars, Revanchism, Moral Panics and the Creative City. A Reconstruction of a Decline of Tolerant Public Policy: The Case of Dutch Anti-squatting Legislation. *Urban Studies*, 50(6), 1114-1129. doi:10.1177/0042098012460732
- Romein, A., & Trip, J. J. (2012). Theory and Practice of the Creative City Thesis: Experiences from Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In M. Van Geenhuizen & P. Nijkamp, *Creative Knowledge Cities* (1st ed., pp. 23-52). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of freedom*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Sabat, M. (2012). From red light to black light. *City*, 16(1-2), 158-171. doi:10.1080/13604813.2012.663555
- Sanchez, L. (2004). The global e-rotic subject, the ban, and the prostitute-free zone: sex work and the theory of differential exclusion. *Environment And Planning D: Society And Space*, 22(6), 861-883. doi:10.1068/d413
- Serino, A. (2009a). A Second Exchange: three days of presentations and talks. Amsterdam.
- Serino, A. (2009b). *RED A.i.R./Redlight Art Amsterdam: record of events*. Angela Serino. Retrieved 23 July 2015, from <http://www.angelaserino.com/curated-projects-items/2014/9/5/red-airredlight-art-amsterdam-record-of-events>
- Serino, A., City of Amsterdam, & De Key- De Principaal. (2008). *Red A.i.R Redlight Art Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: Drukkerij Twenthe.
- Soja, E. (2003). The Stimulus of a Little Confusion. In M. Smith, *After Modernism: Global Restructuring and the Changing Boundaries of City Life* (3rd ed., pp. 17-38). New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Trip, J. J. (2007). Assessing Quality of Place: A Comparative Analysis of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 29(5), 501-517. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9906.2007.00362.x
- Turner, G. (1996). *British cultural studies*. London: Routledge.
- Tylor, E. (1871). *Primitive culture*. London: Bradbury, Evans, and Co., Printers.
- University of Amsterdam. (2009). *Imagining Amsterdam: Visions and Revisions*, November 19-21. Conference, Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- Kroeber, A., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). *Culture, a critical review of concepts and definitions*. Cambridge: Peabody Museum.

- van der Heijden, J. (2008). *Heart of Amsterdam: Future Perspectives 1012*. Amsterdam. Retrieved from [http://www.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/396758/heart\\_of\\_amsterdam.pdf](http://www.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/396758/heart_of_amsterdam.pdf)
- van Dijk, T. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249-283. doi:10.1177/0957926593004002006
- Wang, J. (2014). Criticising images: critical discourse analysis of visual semiosis in picture news. *Critical Arts*, 28(2), 264-286. doi:10.1080/02560046.2014.906344
- Williams, R. [1958] 1983. *Culture and Society*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Williams, R. (1976). *Keywords*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Yeoman, I., & Yu, R. (2012). *2050 - tomorrow's tourism*. Buffalo: Channel View Publications.
- Zimmerman, K., & Gray, J. (2013). *Amsterdam* (3rd ed.). Footscray, Vic.: Lonely Planet.
- Zuckerwise, G. (2005). Letting the Workers Speak for Themselves: Giving voices to sex workers who have positively experienced working in Amsterdam's red light district (Undergraduate). Amherst College.
- Zuckerwise, G. (2010). *The Politics of Dutch Pragmatism in the Govern-mentality of Liberal, Tolerant and Non-confrontational Amsterdam Reflections and Re-visions from the Red Light District Reforms* (Research MA). University of Amsterdam.

# Appendix A: Images referred to in Chapter 3

## 3.2

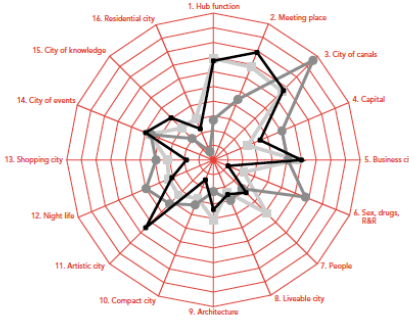


### 3.2.1

Spider web diagram of 16 dimensions (Berenschot, 2003, Appendix F)

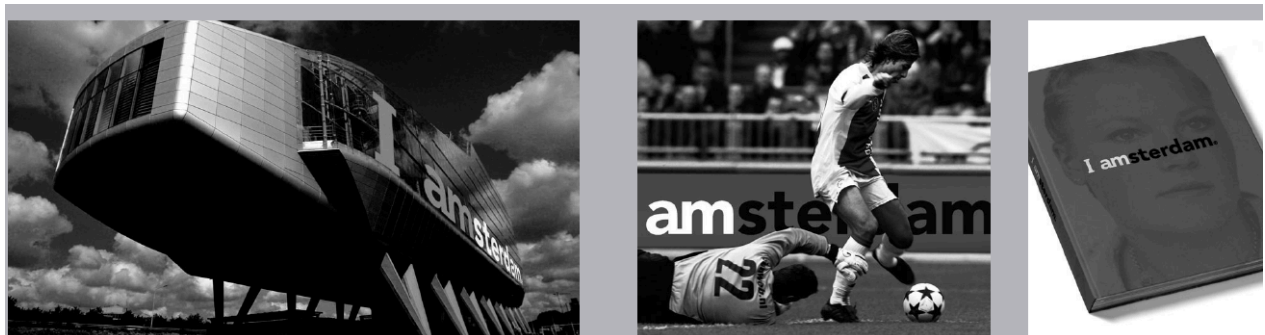
## Appendix G SWOT Analysis

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| <p><b>16. Residential city</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Compact, everything in the area<br/>Global village<br/>Architecture of homes<br/>Urban living<br/>Space is not scarce. Amsterdam is the least densely built city in the world</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Middle class groups have left<br/>Segregation<br/>Outdated housing stock<br/>Difficult for starters</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Restructuring old neighbourhoods<br/>Connections to new developments<br/>Business location factor for high-grade companies<br/>Excellent homes for Internet managers/professors</p>  |  |  |
| <p><b>15. City of knowledge</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Two universities<br/>AMC/VU Hospitals<br/>Students<br/>Colleges of higher education<br/>Science park<br/>Education (numerous fields, international, specialities)<br/>Amsterdam's creativity</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Not highly profiled<br/>No achievement/individual leadership<br/>No campus<br/>Decline in quality</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Special because of combination of science, culture and society<br/>Everything in the area (UvW, TUD, RUL, space travel)<br/>Internationalisation<br/>Specialist trades<br/>Knowledge infrastructure<br/>IT<br/>Life sciences<br/>Sustainable<br/>Intellectual climate</p>  |  |  |
| <p><b>14. City of events</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Ajax football club<br/>Sail<br/>Rozier Amstel (rowing)<br/>Uitmarkt market<br/>Queen's birthday<br/>RM exhibition centre</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Insufficient public space in centre for events<br/>No major festivals<br/>Dutch appeal instead of international</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Doors of participation<br/>Space in the 'second ring' (not in centre)<br/>Amsterdam and South East Sports<br/>Concert hall/orchestra</p>  |  |  |
| <p><b>13. Shopping city</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Huge variety<br/>Wide range<br/>PC Hooftstraat (shopping street)<br/>Bijenkorf (department store)<br/>Bijenkorf (department store)<br/>Bijenkorf (department store)</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Difficult to park<br/>No 'areas'<br/>No special shops, same as in other places<br/>No distinctive clusters<br/>Not enough liveliness<br/>Building pit</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Quality/excellence<br/>Variation<br/>Labeling (Waterlooplein, PCH, markets, 9 streets)</p>  |  |  |
| <p><b>12. Night life</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Varied availability of theatre<br/>Cabaret<br/>AUB: accessibility<br/>City of premises<br/>Drugs (party)<br/>Walker (red light district)<br/>Trendy<br/>Everything is available</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Strict closing times<br/>Difficult to park<br/>Limited access/accessibility<br/>Insufficient information about nightlife<br/>Chic nightlife (plunge) not available<br/>City is turning into an amusement park<br/>Taxis are not appealing<br/>Rancid<br/>No chain management with regard to nightlife</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Combination tickets<br/>Music (Paradiso, Huisman Music Hall, 'Vrienden van Amstel' concert)<br/>Trendy beach tents 'Amsterdam by the sea'<br/>Paradise/laundry<br/>Appealing to young people</p>   |  |  |
| <p><b>11. Artistic city</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Concentration of art/culture<br/>Courses, performance, stage<br/>Trend setting<br/>Literature/writers<br/>Paintings<br/>Festivals<br/>Amsterdam is the scene<br/>Museums<br/>Sandberg Institute - esteemed, Rijetveld slightly less so</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Quality art<br/>Not open enough</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Crossover: combination of high and low culture results in very interesting new forms of art.<br/>Combination of content and context<br/>Creative industries<br/>Museum Square<br/>Rijksmuseum renovation<br/>The new Rijksmuseum formula at Amsterdam Airport unique in world.<br/>Specialist trades<br/>Design museum Southern Axis<br/>Spinners (Indigo, Portuguese synagogues)<br/>Descartes</p>  |  |  |
| <p><b>1. Hub function</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Schiphol<br/>Fifth European port<br/>A10 Ring road<br/>Nerve centre of business Europe<br/>Virtual logistics centre<br/>The digital city Amsterdam. The first of its kind in the world.<br/>AMIX (Amsterdam Internet Exchange) is the largest Internet hub on the European mainland.<br/>Gateway to Europe</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Congestion<br/>Insufficient public transport, especially outside office hours<br/>Quality of public transport outdated<br/>Limit on Schiphol Airport's capacity<br/>Low innovative capacity</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Accessibility campaign<br/>Randstad South connection<br/>Airport City concept connection to Lelidam<br/>Human dimension quality<br/>New trams</p>  |  |  |
| <p><b>2. Meeting place</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Neighbourhood bars<br/>Squares<br/>Knowledge of foreign languages<br/>Ambiance<br/>Social, feel at home<br/>Organised and facilities available</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Peer group cafes, no mixing<br/>Networking and groups</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Labeling/ creating distinct profile of areas<br/>Combination of high and low culture<br/>Grand café feeling (alone but together)<br/>Social and cultural networks<br/>Informal meeting places (chess c the squares)<br/>Religious places</p>  |  |  |
| <p><b>3. City of canals</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Water has numerous functions<br/>Combined function: living and working<br/>Connection via water, canals make boulevards<br/>Amsterdam is seen as a wonder of the world from the water<br/>Image of old Europe<br/>Expresses style and wealth</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Dirty<br/>Too many functions in the ring of canals (too much pressure)<br/>Too many new buildings<br/>Loss of authenticity (Dinrak seen as character assassination)</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Details/variation<br/>New canals RNSM, (Uburg)<br/>Preserve heritage<br/>Appeal</p>  |  |  |
| <p><b>4. Capital</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Events<br/>Amsterdam is the Netherlands<br/>Residents proud of the city</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Not a political centre<br/>Confusing for foreigners<br/>Amalgam</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Lobby<br/>Dem palace as heart of the Netherlands (demonstrations, Remembrance Day)<br/>Grow back the Dem Palace to the people<br/>European capital</p>   |  |  |
| <p><b>5. Business city</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Proximity of airport and seaport combined with appealing city<br/>Plenty of business accommodation<br/>Low business set-up costs compared to Paris, London, Frankfurt<br/>High level of work force<br/>Corruption effect<br/>Good mix of hard establishment factors (prices/quality ratio) and soft factors (dynamic, competition)</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Bureaucracy, too many desks<br/>Inaccessible<br/>Legislation and regulations obstruct<br/>Room for investment<br/>Small scale character<br/>No city<br/>No sector brands<br/>Quality of the work force under pressure</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Southern Axis, South-East<br/>Urban living<br/>Combination society, knowledge culture<br/>Business climate<br/>Prices<br/>Enormous potential due to scale (GPP form)<br/>Co-operation<br/>Creative industries (IT, marketing, creative city)<br/>Silicon Alley<br/>Region<br/>Hang on to businesses<br/>TV makers move North, in other words, Hilversum is emptying</p> |  |  |
| <p><b>6. Sex, drugs R&amp;R</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Economically interesting<br/>Tolerance<br/>Tasting/appeal<br/>Freedom of expression and behaviour</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Economically interesting<br/>Disorderly<br/>Not appealing for families<br/>No modernisation, saturated<br/>Drugs industry (politics, criminals)</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Jacques Brel's harbour romance<br/>Historic link prostitute harbour</p>   |  |  |
| <p><b>7. People</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Diversity<br/>Languages<br/>Celebrities<br/>Individualism</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Groups (English, Chinese) with regard to scale<br/>City routing<br/>Lack of middle class groups<br/>Drop outs too noticeable</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Outdoor life<br/>Amsterdam's inhabitants<br/>Power of diversity<br/>Brand faces the jobs of Amsterdam<br/>Religion<br/>History: faces 'live'</p>   |  |  |
| <p><b>8. Liveable city</b></p> <p><b>Strengths</b><br/>Parks<br/>Water<br/>Building height<br/>Street layout<br/>Human dimension<br/>Relaxed atmosphere</p> <p><b>Weaknesses</b><br/>Unsafe<br/>Dirty<br/>Insufficient order<br/>Fear<br/>Deterioration<br/>Cheap<br/>Poorly maintained neighbourhoods early 20th century</p> <p><b>Opportunities</b><br/>Objective safety increasing<br/>Hospitality<br/>Cleanup actions<br/>Amsterdam is a metropolis, with advantages and disadvantages<br/>Challenging environment<br/>Well-laid out, accessible (traffic signs in the city and periphery)<br/>Invest in green areas<br/>Renovation and renewal of sport facilities</p>  |  |  |



3.2.2  
SWOT Analysis (Berenschot, 2003, Appendix G)

3.3



3.3.1  
Three examples of how to use the brand (Berenschot, 2004, p. 45)

## Appendix B: Images referred to in Chapter 4

### 4.1

I amsterdam.

Experience Living Business

[< Back to overview](#)

## Quality for the heart of Amsterdam



6 Dec 2008

The ambition is to turn postcode area 1012 into a safer, more beautiful and liveable area. Proposals to that end are set out in the Strategy Memorandum Coalition Project 1012; Heart of Amsterdam. In December 2007, the City of Amsterdam announced its plans for postcode area 1012. During the past few years, this area has seen an increase in organised crime. Municipal plans show that there will still be room for the sex industry and coffee shops, albeit in clearly manageable locations. Mayor Cohen, Alderman Asscher, urban district chairman Iping and portfolio holder Koldenhof drew up the plans in close collaboration during the past year.

### Reason

The City of Amsterdam is of the opinion that there is crime and an infrastructure that is maintained and fed by a host of criminogenic facilities such as brothels, smartshops, currency exchange bureaus, gambling joints, coffee shops, convenience stores, sex clubs and some restaurants and bars. There are indications that they serve as a cover for money laundering practices. A relatively high number of souvenir shops and convenience stores seem to have an actual turnover that is disproportional to the rent they need to pay. Furthermore, the drugs issue and women trafficking are important reasons for the strategy.

### Quality

The City of Amsterdam wants to give the city centre a quality boost. It involves a combination of small & diverse and large & international. This will be an area of quality hotels and stores that sell high-quality products. Everyone must come to know the 1012 area as one of the most exciting, most varied and most interesting centres of Europe. The balance between the different functions in the area will improve. It should eventually attract a wider audience. The current effect of grandness and authenticity will be enhanced. Summarising, there are five targets:

- > to dismantle the criminal structure
- > to reduce crime-sensitive functions
- > to stop and reverse degeneration
- > to recover the good balance of functions
- > to realise a high-quality and varied city entrance

### Opportunities

In spatial-economic terms, the city centre and the Amsterdam region are undergoing many developments. The southern IJ bank is nearing completion. The NoordZuidlijn will optimise accessibility by metro to the city centre. There are a number of market parties that also recognise the opportunities: NV Zeedijk, NV Stadsgoed, NV Stadsherstel, Ymere, De Key/Principaal, ING Real Estate, Corio, Am Vastgoed, IPMMC, Redevco Nederland, Stable International, Rabo Bouwfonds, ABN AMRO, Fortis, Multi Vastgoed, Kroonenberggroep. They are all involved in the 1012 strategy or have shown an interest therein. Parties such as Victoriahotel, Krasnapolsky, Bijenkorf and also cultural organisations such as Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder and the Oude Kerk are working on concrete initiatives that are in line with the municipal ambitions.

### Strategy

The city is tackling quality improvement in three ways: by realising so-called key projects, restructuring and improving the public space and opting for a street-oriented strategy.

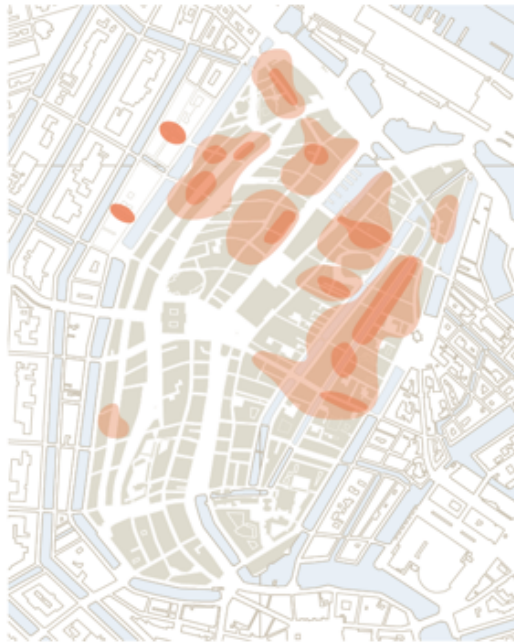
### First pillar: 9 key projects

The city will make space available for alteration and development projects in important locations in postcode area 1012, which projects will contribute to the economic development of the inner city. The plan is to set a flywheel in motion aimed at improving the quality of the entrance area. This involves a total of nine key projects: Beursplein, Chinatown, Geldersekaade/ Oosterdok car park, Oudekerksplein, Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder, Victoriahotel and the Kadasterpand, the Fortis building at Rokin, Krasnapolsky, Binnengasthuisterrein (University of Amsterdam). There will no longer be any room for prostitution at Oudekerksplein. It will be replaced by commercial activities, shops, culture, art, bars and restaurants. Beursplein will become a beautiful and lively square of significant importance to the city centre. A bicycle storage facility and possibly a car park with underground links between the Beurs van Berlage, the Bijenkorf and C&A will be built underneath Beursplein. Moving the Bijenkorf car park underground would create space for quite a few shops and possibly houses on the northern side of the building.

### 4.1.1

[Full text of press release](#)

## 4.2



Concentration of businesses subject to criminal influences

### 4.2.1

Simplified map of central Amsterdam (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 4)



### 4.2.2

Street in the Red Light District (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 5)





#### 4.2 3

City Neighborhood (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 6)



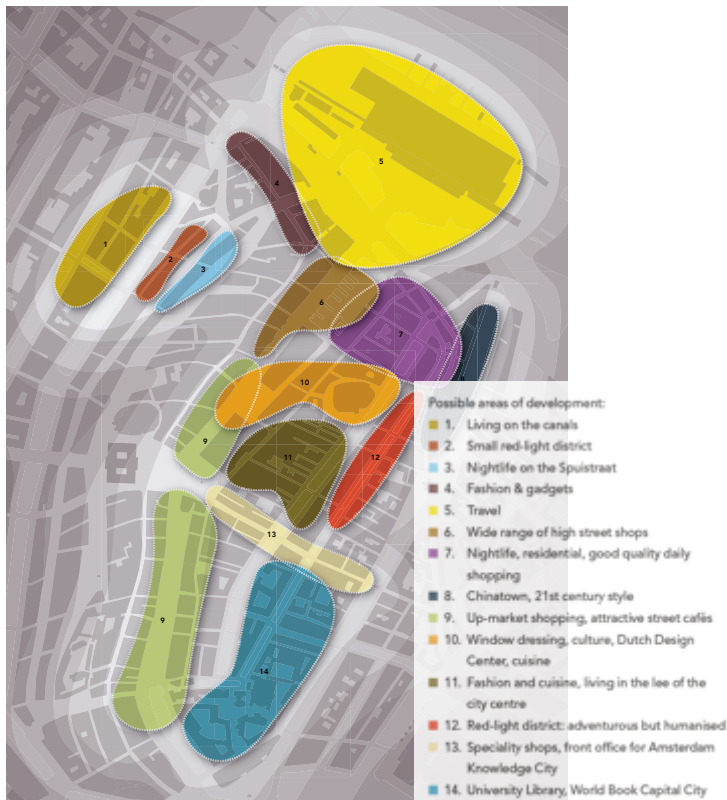
#### 4.2 4

"Unique Identity" (van der Heijden, 2008, p. 6)



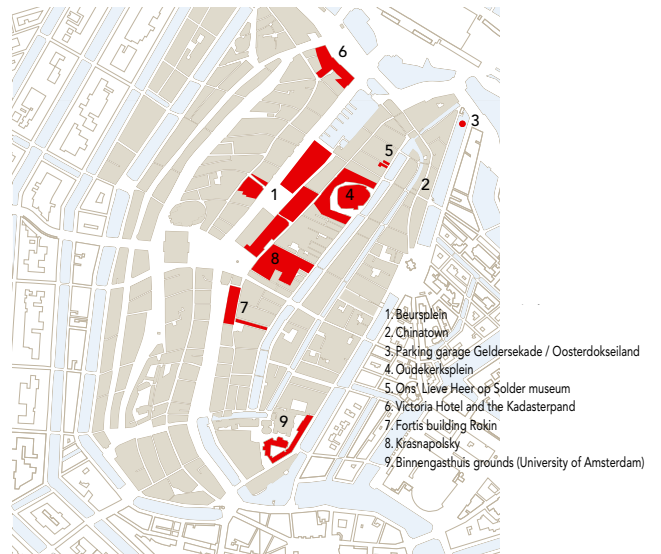
#### 4.2 5

Metropolis (van der Heijden, 2008, p.6)



#### 4.2 6

Map of “possible areas of development” (van der Heijden, 2008, p.9)



Nine key projects

#### 4.2 7

Specific locations of key projects (van der Heijden, 2008, p.10)





4.2 8 Oudekerksplein (van der Heijden, 2008, p.11)



4.2 9 Beursplein (van der Heijden, 2008, p.11)



4.2 10

Map of planned and completed improvements to public space (van der Heijden, 2008, p.12)



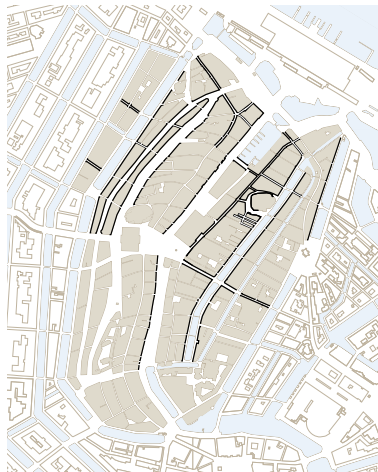
4.2 9

Street/canal in city center (van der Heijden, 2008, p.12)



4.2 10

Empty/advertised brothel



The streets involved

4.2 11

Map of “the streets involved” (van der Heijden, 2008, p.13)

### 4.3



4.3 1

“Warmoesstraat”: A main pedestrian street  
(I amsterdam, 2011, p. 3)



4.3 2

“Stag party” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 3)



4.3 3

“Setting up an exhibition” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 4)



4.3 4

“Sex shop on the Damstraat” (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 4)







4.3.8  
Red Light Radio (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 7)



4.3.9  
Asia Station (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 7)



4.3.10  
“Bird’s-eye view of 1012”  
(I amsterdam, 2011, p. 8)



4.3.11  
“Artist’s impression of Red Carpet- Rokin”  
(I amsterdam, 2011, p. 9)



4.3.12  
Outdoor café in the Wallen (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 10)



4.3.13  
City street (I amsterdam, 2011, p. 11)

#### 4.4



4.4 1 Prostitution Information Center



4.4 2 Statue of Belle in front of Oudekerk



## APPENDIX C: IMAGES REFERRED TO IN CHAPTER 5

### 5.1



#### 5.1.1

Redlight Amsterdam studios with I amsterdam brand and reference to Redlight Art initiative



#### 5.1.2

Red A.i.R Window with I amsterdam branding and Redlight Art



5.1 3

Redlight Fashion window

5.2



5.2 1

Red A.i.R program cover image

5.3



5.3 1

"Opening Soon" Poster



5.3 2

"Opening Now" Poster





**5.3 3**  
Clean up (Serino, Opening Pictures, 2009)



**5.3 4**  
Public Library Front



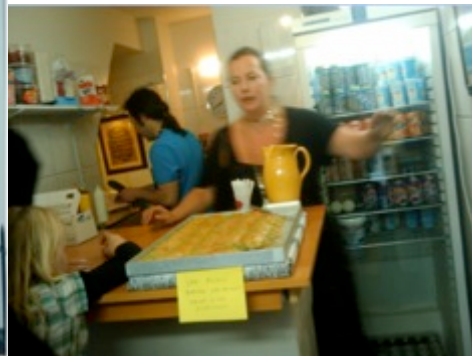
**5.3 5**  
Artist working on 1st floor of Library (Serino, Eventless Events 2, 2009)



**5.3 6**  
Public Library 1st Floor (Serino, Eventless Events 2, 2009)



5.3 7  
Public Library 2nd Floor



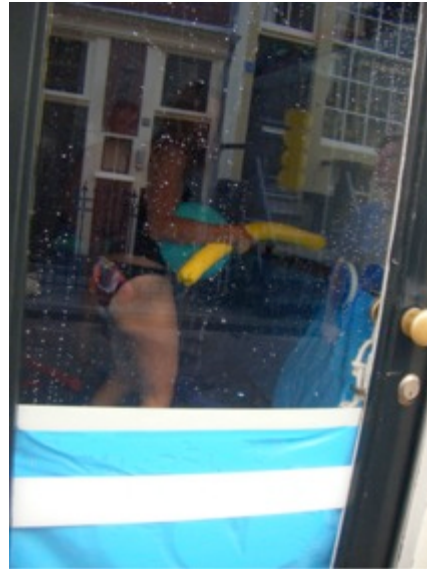
5.3 8  
Turkish Snackbar entrance



5.3 9  
Outside Turkish Snackbar



5.3 10  
Public Swimming Pool Window

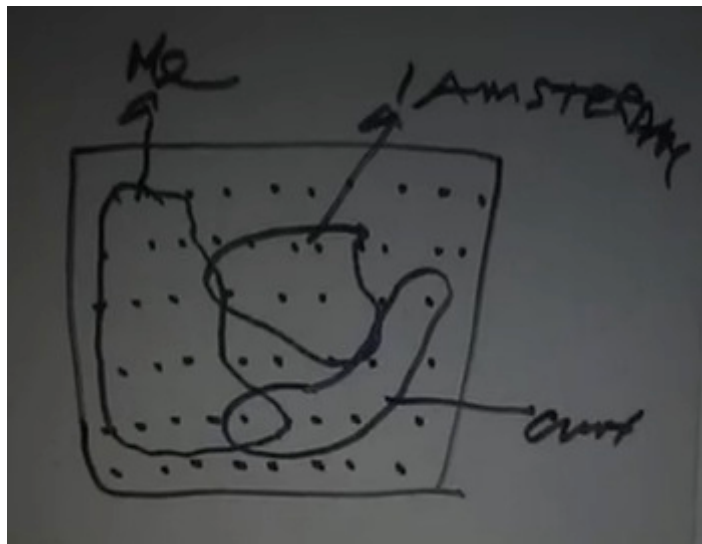




5.3 11

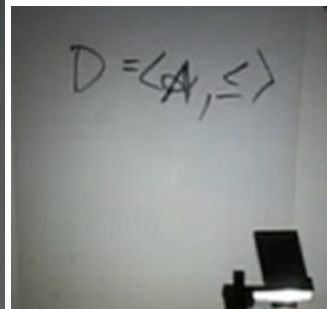
Public Swimming Pool Entrance with timetable

## 5.4



5.4 1

Incompatible beliefs (Blake, 2009)



5.4 2

Equation of decision of the artist/agent (Blake, 2009)

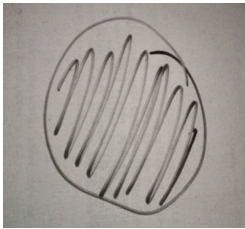
$$\begin{aligned}
 D &= \langle A, \leq \rangle \\
 A &= \{a_{in}, a_{out}\} \\
 \hline
 D^* &= D [a_{either}, a_{neither}]
 \end{aligned}$$

5.4 3  
Equation of Indian Logic (Blake, 2009)



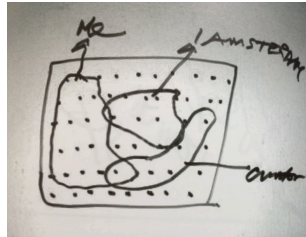
## Appendix D: Images referred to in Chapter 6

### 6.7.3



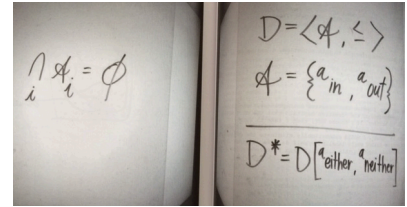
#### 6.7.3 1

Black Hole (Blake, 2012, p. 184)



#### 6.7.3 3

Agents and irreconcilable beliefs (Blake, 2012, p. 185)



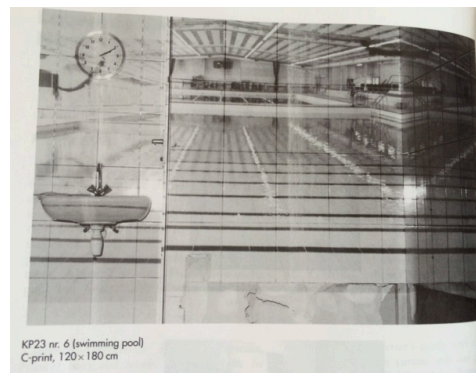
#### 6.7.3 2

Logic equations (Blake, 2012, pp. 186-7)



#### 6.7.3 4

Three photographs of artist's studio (Aëgerter, 2012, p. 191)



#### 6.7.3 5

Public swimming pool (Aëgerter, 2012, p. 192)

